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ABSTRACT

School desegregation did not lead to greater understanding of the Hispanic community by white educational personnel in two school districts analyzed to document the desegregation process and the impact of school desegregation on the Hispanic community. Each district was in a white-controlled, tri-ethnic community in its second year of successful implementation of court ordered school integration, and had an enrollment of from 20,000 to 150,000, of which 15% to 25% was Hispanic and not more than 30% was black. One district was in the East and the other in the West. Data came from participant observation, interviews, literature reviews, census reports, and city planning studies. In both districts, the full implementation of desegregation coincided with a loss in white enrollment and was soon followed by increased racial cleavage and conflict. Hispanic students were less likely to be in a supportive learning environment after desegregation. Court ordered plans sometimes curtailed specially targeted minority programs such as bilingual education programs and many Hispanics perceived desegregation to be detrimental to bilingual education. Desegregation plans should adhere to state and federal guidelines for bilingual education and should distinguish the needs of racial minorities on an individual basis. Further research is recommended. (SB)

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VOLUME II

ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDIES

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TRENDS IN SEGREGATION OF HISPANIC STUDENTS IN MAJOR SCHOOL DISTRICTS HAVING LARGE HISPANIC ENROLLMENT

FINAL REPORT

NOVEMBER 30, 1979

Project Director: Abdin Noboa

Aspira of America, Inc.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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-- Abdín Noboa

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Racial Conflict: The confrontation and contesting for social and political resources between two or more self-identified racial* groups. The most politically and socio-economically visible racial and/or ethnic groups in the two sites studied are: Anglos or "Whites"; Hispanos (comprised mainly of Mexicanos, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans); Blacks; Filipinos; and Chinese. These ethnic groups have maintained their boundaries and identity over time and can be seen as continually competing for the limited socio-economic and political resources available. The Anglos, now as in the past, have extensive control over the vast majority of these resources.

Racial Cleavage: This concerns racial boundary maintenance and the degree of exclusivity of membership in self-identified racial groups; and the extent to which groups include or exclude individuals whose traits are not those of the individuals making the judgement. Examples of this phenomena in Westville include social and political organizations ranging from the Mexican-American "low rider" youth car clubs to a Chinese committee for the celebration of Chinese New Year. The degree to which membership in these groups is limited to persons of that ethnic group vary. For example, Mexican-American "low rider" clubs are said to accept "cool" non-Hispanos while membership in the Mexican-American Teachers Association is limited to persons of "Hispanic descent."

Desegregation: This is the altering of school site ethnic/racial populations so as to transform these settings in such a way that minority students are no longer isolated from majority students. In one state the desegregation process requires that individual classrooms as well as school sites be in balance with that of national origin groups in the district at large ±15 percent. Equally, there is an increasing demand that districts seek some national origin balance in their school staffs.

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*The tern "racial" has been previously defined (Volume I) to include Hispanic groups.

Paired Schools: This is a joining together of two schools for the purpose of reaching national origin balance of the student population. On the elementary level with six grades this means that once paired, one school can serve grades 1 through 3 and the other grades 4 through 6.

Triad: This refers to the joining of three schools for the purpose of national origin balancing. Once joined, these elementary schools divide the teaching load so that one site, for instance, services the first two grades; another, the second two; and a third, the last two grades.

Integration: The term implies a "step beyond" desegregation, so to speak; it implies a situation in which one finds the free and full mixing of students from various national origin backgrounds both within and outside of the classroom setting. This is not synonymous to desegregation. In practical terms, one would find that within the community, as well as within the schools, central political-economic and social groupings would voluntarily be comprised of persons from varying racial backgrounds.

NES/LESA: This term refers to non-English speakers and limited English speaking ability students. It is used by educators to classify students with limited or no fluency in English. The term LEP, limited English proficiency, is not used in this report.

Bilingual Education: On the one hand, this term is broadly used to identify programs and activities meeting the special needs of NES/LESA students through instruction in their own native language. More particularly, this term is here distinguished from the English as a Second Language (ESL) approach in that an effort is made in bilingual programs to develop the basic concepts in both English and the native language, where education takes place in two languages. Also, the introduction of native culture in bilingual programs is inherent in many of the programs designated as "bilingual."

ESL: An acronym for English as a Second Language. It is a method for teaching English to non-English speakers.

Transitional Bilingual Education: This denotes a type of bilingual program that is aimed specifically at facilitating the NES/LESA student's learning in his/her native language only until sufficient English can be learned to allow for mainstream education. The basic focus of this approach is a rapid transition into mainstream English speaking classes. In the school districts studied, we find that the overall approach to bilingual education is of a transitional type. In addition to the linguistic element, these programs may have a bicultural component which stresses cultural pluralism and aims at inculcating an appreciation for at least two cultural systems. In practical terms this means that a student would be oriented to at least two cultural systems, as well as two languages.

Majority Population: This term identifies the dominant "white" (or Anglo) racial group that has control over most of the major decision-making processes, and political and economic institutions.

Minority Population: The term is used to distinguish the less powerful racial groups from the dominant white majority, regaradless of size.....

Migrant: Generally this term applies to seasonal farm workers in Westville. The term is used as employed by the State migrant education project to classify seasonal farm workers in regards to their rights to services. Type 1 migrant refers to recent arrivals; type 2, to those who have traveled outside of the state and returned within six weeks; and type 3, former migrants. Children of type 1 and 2 are eligible for special educational programs. In Eastville, the term is more applicable to Puerto Ricans who "migrate" to and from Puerto Rico. It is at times also used in reference to seasonal workers (usually agricultural). Many of these are also from Puerto Rico.

CHAPTER I

CROSS-SITE REPORT

Introduction

Public school desegregation is popularly seen as an issue involving "black" and "white" racial groups. Until recently, little attention had been paid to the effect of school desegregation on the nation's other minority groups. It is not well known, for instance, that Hispanos have been fighting school segregation in the nation's courts since the early 1930s. These ethnographic case studies, part of a larger study on Hispanic segregation trends, represent a step toward a broader understanding of desegregation as an issue of vital importance to Hispanic communities.

The two ethnographic studies reported are the result of four months of field work. The sites selected were Westville and Eastville.* The purpose of these case studies was to document the desegregation process and the impact of school desegregation on the Hispanic community. In each case study the school system and the desegregation process were studied in light of the entire community and its dynamics. Data on a wide range of related issues were collected, and observations were carried out at many levels of interaction. Because of this ethnographic approach, a relatively short period of fieldwork yielded a rich and wide-ranging understanding of the most important variables affecting the desegregation process and its impact on the Hispanic population.

Educational change invariably occurs in a political context, and when there are several racial groups involved, the course of educational policies and programs are strongly affected.

*To protect the confidentiality of our sites, pseudonms were used. School district representatives who authorized site entry into one of the school districts requested district anonymity for Eastville.

Ethnographic Case Study Procedures

District Site Selection Criteria and Procedures

For maximum comparability of data, selected sites had to have similar demographic features and nearly parallel development in desegregation litigation and implementation. Consequently, the following general parameters guided the selection of the case study sites.

1) The school district had to be in the second year of implementation of a State or Federal court-order to desegregate.

2) The school district had to enroll 15%-25% Hispanic students and substantial percentages of black and other minority students, but black enrollment could not exceed 30%.

3) The school district had to represent a tri-ethnic community with a large presence of black and white students; however, total minority enrollment could not exceed 50% of the district enrollment.

4) School district enrollment had to be between 20,000 and 150,000 students.

5) One site had to be from the East and one from the West or Southwest.

Numerous sites met these criteria. The sites selected represented the greatest variability in Hispanic population and were perceived as exemplary cases of successful implementation of court-ordered desegregation. One site was on the East Coast (Eastville), the other on the West Coast (Westville).

For each district chosen for study, a sample of three or four elementary schools was selected for detailed analyses. In Westville, where full implementation of desegregation coincided with full implementation of bilingual education, it was appropriate to choose a sample that would represent the range of possible bilingual programs (full, partial, and individualized). Change in Hispanic enrollment at the sampled schools from before to after desegregation varied—from almost no change to a

change of 30%. Change in the number of NES/LESA (non-English speaking and limited English speaking ability) students also varied--from declining by one-half to increasing tenfold. (See Table I)

TABLE I

Hispanic Population and NES/LESA Students in Sample Schools in the Westville Unified School District

	Percent Hispanic Population		Number of NES/LES Students	
School	1976	1978	1976	1978
1	47%	50%	22	32
2	49	48	105	55
3	11	40	6	60
4	20	37	13	35

SOURCE: Ethnic/Racial Reports, 1976 and 1978. Office of Research, Westville Board of Education.

In Westville, four schools were selected to reveal the history of bilingual education and the changes it underwent in the desegregation process, and to facilitate an understanding of the actual mechanics of the different types of bilingual education formats. A magnet school designated as a multilingual/multicultural school, a set of paired elementary schools and a K-6 neighborhood school were selected.

In Eastville, three elementary schools were selected--one that had been very little affected by the school desegregation plan, one moderately affected, and one not significantly affected by the desegregation plan.

While the criteria for school selection varied slightly between the two districts, selected schools represented a wide spectrum of bilingual educational instruction and were located in different sectors of the school system--some of these schools were consequently more directly affected by desegregation efforts than others.

Data Collection Strategies

Participant observation was used extensively as a data-gathering technique. In addition, structured and open-ended interviews were conducted with community and school participants--administrators, board members, community leaders, and parents. School board meetings, parent advisory councils, and community meetings were attended. Within each sampled school, one administrator, one or more bilingual aides, three or more teachers, at least three students and three parents, and a school counselor were interviewed using a structured format. Prior to field entry, extensive interviews were held with individuals who were known to have extensive experience and knowledge about the selected district. In some cases, interviewees had conducted major investigations in these districts. A review of the relevant research literature was done. All available documents (e.g., newspapers, published and unpublished studies, school reports) pertaining to the history of desegregation and/or bilingual education in the district were also reviewed, as were census reports and city planning studies.

Summary of Major Findings and Conclusions

Within the two school systems selected for in-depth analysis, it does not appear that school desegregation has led to a greater understanding by white administrators or teachers of the Hispanic community. It is clear that racist stereotypes remain common. It can be postulated that any city forced to desegregate schools by court order is a city wherein the dominant majority does not respect or accept minority racial cultures. It is not clear to what extent these attitudes and values will be altered, in the long run, by school desegregation.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were derived from the two ethnographic case studies:

- School desegregation plans should distinguish the needs of blacks from those of Hispanos, as well as from those of other racial minorities.

- Desegregation plans should adhere to existing State and Federal guidelines for bilingual education. An attempt should be made to avoid dispersal of NES/LESA students to such an extent that bilingual education at each grade level is rendered economically impractical.

- With desegregation, Hispanic students are less likely to come into contact with a supportive learning environment. In many cases this would imply the hiring of additional Hispanic staff.*

- Different socio-economic sectors of the Hispanic community respond in varying ways to desegregation. Hispanic response also varies among many low income Hispanos who either mildly oppose initial desegregation or are totally uninvolved with the issue. If parents understand the inequities of a segregated educational system, they are more likely to actively support desegregation.

- In many cities, Hispanos perceive that desegregation may prove to be detrimental to bilingual education. These perceptions are born of realities as desegregation, at times, is used as an excuse to limit the service of special educational needs of Hispanos. The degree to which parents feel that such will occur influences their view toward desegregation.

*Desegragation many times increases Hispanic student contact with white teachers and staff, some of whom do not favor desegregation and who hold stereotypic views of Hispanos, while also decreasing contact with Hispanic teachers. It is important that Hispanic students be exposed to Hispanic teachers and administrators. On the most basic level, it is essential that school personnel are able to fully communicate with students in their native language. Further, it is important to the education of Spanish speaking children that the school not represent an alien situation where they are continually exposed to unfamiliar cultural expectations. Teachers and administrators from the same group help bridge this gap and lessen the degree of cultural conflict experienced by the Spanish speaking students within Anglo dominated school systems. Also implicit in this notion is that students of a given racial/linguistic group need role models with whom they can easily identify.

The Findings

The cities in this study are a microcosm of cities across the country. Discriminatory employment and hiring practices, unequal access to important social and economic resources, and residential segregation were clearly evident.

Through the years, the white majority has maintained consistent and firm control over the economic, political, social and educational resources of both Eastville and Westville. Access to educational resources by different self-identified ethnic groups has generated a great deal of conflict in these cities. When conflict is not very intense, negotiation between competing racial groups is possible and mutually agreeable solutions can result. When racial conflict intensifies, negotiations usually fail and the courts are likely to be called to settle disputes.

The study of these two districts have found that:

- Loss in white enrollment in Eastville schools coincided with full implementation of the state ordered desegregation plan. This could be due to the impact of the desegregation plan and/or increased economic status of whites enabling them to move into more affluent areas not affected by the desegregation plan. Whichever the case, direct conflict is avoided by the perpetuation of separateness. In Westville the school population dropped from 1969 to 1978 with the major loss (95%) being majority students. While this trend is not new, or solely associated with the court order to desegregate, it is obvious that the 1974 court order to desegregate the public schools intensified the dominant move out of the Westville Unified School District (WUSD).

- Racial cleavage increased in both sites soon after school desegregation was implemented. In Eastville, for instance, Hispanic and white students isolated themselves during recess and lunch periods. The tendency was also for Hispanic students to use Spanish during recess to communicate among themselves.

- Racial conflict increased in both Westville and Eastville when

majority teachers came into closer contact with minority students due to the desegregation plans. A number of these teachers were unwilling participants in the desegregation process and expressed hostility toward minority students. In Westville, our study found instances of heightened ethnic conflict within the schools. In junior and senior high schools this was manifested by fights, racial slurs between groups, and a considerable amount of racial grouping and voluntary segregation. The formation of one Westville elementary school was brought about by combining one formerly black school, and one Hispanic low income housing project school with a predominantly white northern school. A marked degree of racial conflict resulted.

- Limited Hispanic community participation and acceptance of desegregation eventually came about through an understanding of the desegregation process. In most instances, Hispanic disapproval paralleled the degree of ignorance about the plan. This was heightened by sensationalism, poor coverage in the local media, and school officials' unfounded fears about the outcomes of desegregation. This situation did not simply result from lack of language communication, but through lack of efforts to go beyond the leaders of the Hispanic community and into people's homes. Grass-roots organizations were many times not very grass-roots oriented.

- Court-ordered desegregation plans at times curtailed specially targeted minority programs. Programs, such as bilingual education and early childhood education, can be harmed because, to a large degree, they depend on a critical mass of students in schools to meet Federal guidelines for continued funding. If students who meet such guidelines are dispersed to schools which do not qualify for such programs, it becomes economically difficult and sometimes logistically unfeasible for them to receive special services. The Eastville desegregation plan because of its weakness, negatively affected bilingual education and many of the other programs targeted for minority or low income students. It could be more strongly argued that in Westville the desegregation plan enhanced bilingual education because in the plan the Board of Education reaffirmed moral and financial support for bilingual education.*

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*It must be emphasized that in Westville, while some outcomes of the desegregation plan were beneficial to bilingual education others were rather detrimental. Within the neighborhood K-6 schools, not enough attention was given to achieving a sufficient concentration of NES/LESA students at each grade level. As a result, the NES/LESA students within these schools are less than ten per grade level and receive only minimal bilingual education. Additionally, the site chosen for a magnet school was a would-be abandoned school, which was provided with inadequate materials and there was little consideration to continuing bilingual education of these students beyond the sixth grade. The desegregation plan had a beneficial outcome in that it resulted in the development of a multicultural/multilingual school. Yet, what might have been a first-class setting for true bilingual education for both NES/LESA minorities and fluent English speakers was undermined by a lack of administrative commitment.

- Majority-dominated school systems have good reason to support bilingual education programs. First, by concentrating bilingual education in predominately white schools, Hispanic desire to attend white schools is dampened. Second, the white community can more easily support bilingual education because they see it as a way to keep Hispanos segregated in their own schools.

- The educational practice of tracking students into performance levels based on test scores, has been used by some schools which have recently integrated. Minorities tend to fall behind their white counterparts in academic subjects as a result of transfering from a minority school with a poor academic environment. Test scores are used to separate students into different classrooms resulting in the separation of minorities from whites in class, even though as a whole, the school is racially balanced.** However, this method of segregagation by tracking is difficult to check by homeroom enrollments alone since students attend various classes during the day. Pullout programs were more common in desegregated settings.

- Racially balanced student reallocation procedures met with greater success. In Westville there was a more widespread effort on the part of the district to improve the quality of education post desegregation by equalizing facilities and course offerings. This is particularly evident at the high school level, where during the pre-desegregation period there were many more courses offered at the Northern school than at the Southern school. This phenomenon is in part due to the fact that pairing of schools brings white children into schools with poorer facilities and inferior curriculums. This situation seems to be more likely when minority and non-minority children equally share in student reallocation and busing plans. This was more likely in Westville as compared to Eastville.

- The acquisition of community political power preceded educational change. The Hispanic minority constituencies studied had not yet acquired the necessary power to be in a position to negotiate. In both communities, coalitions were formed with other groups (primarily blacks) which eventually became a form of community power. This was used to acquire needed educational change. Though change, in many instances, came about through heated negotiations and conflict, it seldom occurred without some combined group power.

**Although the practice continues, there is legal sanction against action of this nature.

Recommendations for Further Study

Much more research is needed on the effects of desegregation on bilingual education. In particular, a broad cross-site assessment should be done of bilingual programs and how they are affected by the different desegregation processes. The most common problems of bilingual education in desegregated settings need to be outlined and solutions systematically sought.

The issue of how desegregation affects quality of education and educational achievement requires an approach that identifies the needs of the Hispanic population. The special educational needs of Hispanos can no longer be limited to purely linguistic needs. Schools need to promote broader acceptances of cultural pluralism and remediate the prejudicial treatment of minority students. Quality of education and educational achievement cannot be solely measured on the basis of standardized tests.

Continued research should be carried out on the role of majority teacher/administrator attitudes in minority student achievement. Factors such as the provision of Hispanic teachers and administrators and their effect on minority student achievement need to be more fully explored.

There should be continued analyses of the ways in which our socio-economic system promotes and, in some cases, benefits from racial conflict and cleavage. Local minority pressure is enhanced through non-locally controlled institutions. Outside sources of funds facilitate the creation of external support systems to combat local power blocks. Also, the courts operate somewhat independently of local politics. These pressures can assist in bringing about needed educational reform.

CHAPTER II

WESTVILLE: A CASE STUDY

GEOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Westville is the seat of the St. Westgate County and its commercial center. Agriculture played a key role in the development of Westville. Following the gold rush there were two areas known as the wheat period and the fruit and vegetable period. Related industries, such as milling and wagon and shipbuilding, sprang up during these periods. During World War II, with the establishment of a large naval communications center and army depot, the area became a vital food producing and shipbuilding center. Each of these periods brought particular labor demands requiring continued immigration to the area. Major industries now include shipbuilding, paper product recycling, steel fabrication and agriculture.

The city proper has a population of over 128,000 while the metropolitan population is over 290,000. The city is distinguished by its ethnically diverse population. Fifty-four percent of the population is white; 23 percent, Hispano; 13 percent, black; 3.7 percent, Filipino; 2.8 percent, Chinese; 1.4 percent, Japanese; and 0.4 percent, American Indian (City Planning Department, 1979).

Minorities, after having been subject to strict racial/ethnic covenants, now primarily reside in the southern section of the city. This has created a north-south axis division. In addition, the eastern section is predominantly inhabited by low-income Anglos, with a growing number of low-income Hispanos beginning to filter into the area. In 1970, for instance, Westville contained only 32.1 percent of the city's population, yet residents in this section comprised 56.3 percent of the total city-wide Hispanic population, 92.1 percent of its blacks, 61.8 percent of other minorities, and a mere 9.5 percent of the city's total number of whites. Whites have left this area in great numbers, with a decline from 24,779 in 1960 to 10,726 in 1970. As cited by a well known author, all low-income housing in the city has been built in the southside and attempts to construct low-income housing in the northside have been resisted.

Since 1960, the north side of Westville has absorbed an estimated 95 percent of the city's population growth and new housing construction. From 1960 to 1970 a small number of minority group members moved into the northern sector (census figures reveal an increase in minority group members from 5.3 percent in 1960 to 11.9 percent in 1970). Northside Westville contains numerous Anglo-owned, modern shopping centers, fashionable places for recreation and entertainment, and desirable housing.

Benefits from Westville's considerable agricultural wealth are not readily available to large sectors of the city's residents. For example,

In 1978 unemployment ranged from 10.8 percent to 8.5 percent; in February 1979, the city had the highest jobless rate in all the State. The 1970 census reported 13.5 percent unemployment for Hispanos and 16 percent unemployment for blacks. Because their employment tends to be seasonal, only 29 percent of Hispanic women are in the labor force all year. Of Hispanic men, 52 percent work all year as compared with 60 percent for all city males.

As one might deduce from the above figures, a large part of the city's population exists below the poverty level.* Average income for all families in Westville was $10,757; for Hispanos, $8,173; for blacks, $7,097; and for Filipinos, $6,928. In addition, low-income whites (from the Midwest dust bowl migration) add to the population living below the poverty level. These figures do not include undocumented aliens and are somewhat inflated for Mexican-Americans.

The city is dominated and run by Democrats who, in the words of one Mexican-American community leader, "act like Republicans." This leader

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*In 1970 the poverty level was defined as any income below $3,712 for a family of four.

reported that the big money "is in the hands of the big farmers, canners and the like; they have us on our knees." Meaningful minority political participation and awareness has been minimal. The majority of the Hispanic community is comprised of nonparticipating migrants, yet the upwardly mobile Hispanic element finds it convenient to identify with mainstream Anglo society. Few members of minority groups have achieved positions of political power. Not until the 1978 election did a Mexican-American achieve the position of city councilperson. Only one Asian and one female have been appointed judges. The first black judge was appointed in 1979. Included in various suites for discriminatory hiring practices is a current case being handled by the United States Treasury Department.

Westville exhibits considerable ethnic diversity: Chinese, blacks, Filipinos and Hispanos. The Chinese came for the building of the trans-continental railroad and stayed as farm workers; blacks came to replace evacuated Japanese during World War II and filled the labor shortages in the shipyards; Filipinos were brought as farm laborers; and Hispanos replaced Native Americans as low-paid farm labor.

Hispanos are the largest minority group in Westville. In addition, many descendents of Mexican families intermarried with mainstream society, lost their Spanish surnames, and are no longer identifiable as Hispanos by census classification. Hundreds of Hispanic migrants who work seasonally are rarely included in census figures, and an accurate estimate of the Hispanic population would need to account for the unknown number of undocumented Mexicano residents in the city. Socioeconomic factors of the

Westville Hispanic population such as English language fluency, income-earning ability, educational attainment, and access to mainstream Anglo society vary according to class position.

Educational Characteristics

Adult educational attainment falls below the rest of the State, with only 50 percent of all adults graduating from high school compared with 62 percent for the State. The local figures for Hispanos and blacks are even more appalling, with 33.8 percent of Hispanos and 29.7 percent of blacks graduating from high school. As a result of both the low educational achievement and low income, the Westville School District is considered by many to be a "compensatory education" district as it receives a large percentage of State and Federal compensatory education funds and nearly one-third of all school children come from families that receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). There is also a high student mobility due to seasonal employment. During the 1977-78 school year, 30 percent of the student body entered or left the school district.

The Westville metropolitan area incorporates three school districts of which Westville Unified School District (WUSD) is the largest. Over the last decade, the two smaller districts have been growing as the more affluent families move from the WUSD to the more exclusive, modern northern sections. The WUSD operates and administers 28 elementary schools, including three magnet schools, four middle schools, three high schools, four small alternative high schools, and five other special program schools. The magnet and elementary schools include a multilingual/multicultural school, an open school, and a basic skills school. The small alternative

high schools offer a special curriculum including basic studies and vocational/business training; a separate school is provided for expectant mothers.

Until 1969, enrollment increased steadily, peaking at 32,565. Since that time there as been a gradual enrollment decrease to 24,581. Table 2 illustrates the national origin composition of the WUSD for kindergarten through 12th grade with 1968 and 1978 figures. Graph 1 displays racial trends in WUSD from 1965 to 1978.

As the WUSD has been shrinking over the last decade, the metropolitan area, as well as the city proper, has been growing. While the school population dropped from 32,565 in 1969 to 24,581 in 1978, the city grew from 109,963 in 1970 to an estimated 127,281 in 1978. In particular, the city has been losing majority students.

TABLE 2

WUSD K-12 National Origin Composition, 1968-1969 Compared With 1978-1979

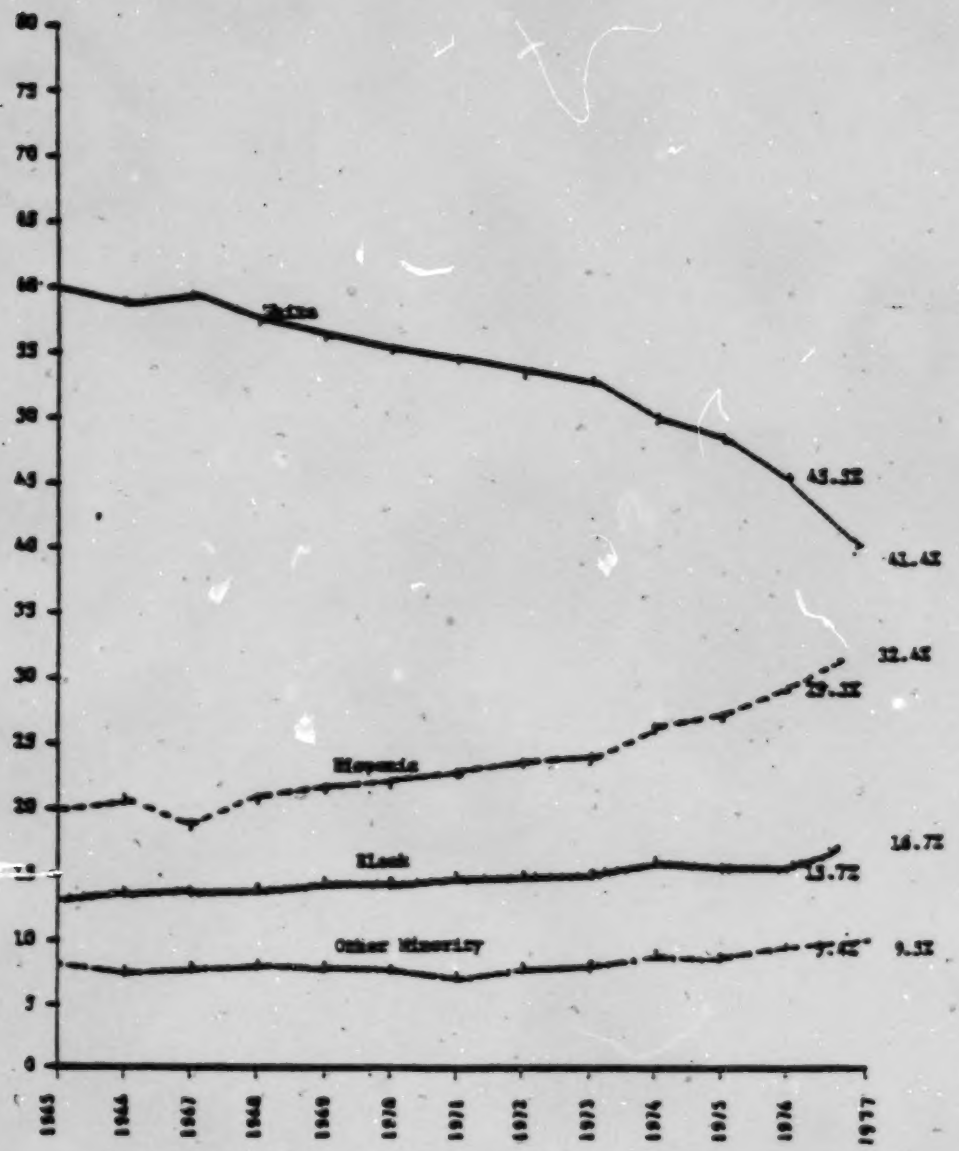
National origin	Percent of all students 1968-1969	1978-1979
White, not of Hispanic origin	56.3	42.3
Hispano	21.6	33.6
Black	14.1	15.5
Asian/Pacific Islander*	4.0(Oriental)	7.9
American Indian/Alaskan	0.3	0.7
Other non-white*	3.6	not a classification

*The 1968 and 1978 classification categories were not exactly the same.

SOURCE: Ethnic/Racial Report, WUSD Office of Research and Evaluation, 1968 and 1978.

Graph 1

Racial Ethnic Trends in The Stockton Unified School District From 1965-1979



SOURCE: This graph represents an updated version of SUSD's 1976 "Graph Showing Racial Ethnic Trends in the SUSD From 1965-1976." Data from the 1978 Racial/Ethnic Report (SUSD) were added.

The 1974 court order to desegregate the public schools intensified somewhat a major move from the WUSD area by whites. For example, from September 1977 to September 1978 the school district lost 1,546 students, 95 percent of them white. Members of minority groups, when possible, sought education outside of the school district, with Hispanic parents favoring

Court-ordered desegregation, however, is not the only cause of "white flight." Whites make more money than members of minority groups and can afford to live in the more prosperous north Westville. As the inner city and southern sections have been neglected and allowed to deteriorate, families have continued to leave the area. This trend was already in progress before 1974.

Varied as the causes of "white flight" are, their relation to both racial conflict and cleavage are clear. On the one hand, the ability of whites to relocate outside city limits and within the more desirable northern residential sections demonstrates their dominance over economic as well as housing resources. On the other hand, the process of "white flight" itself is a manifestation of boundary maintenance that intensifies even greater racial cleavage by restating and reinforcing existing ethnic and class boundaries.

The teacher-student ratio reveals a lower Hispanic teacher-to-student ratio than for any other ethnic group; while Hispanic students comprised 32.4 percent of all city students in 1978, only 8 percent of all teachers were Hispanos. In contrast, the ratio for blacks was 15.5

*The racial mix at the Catholic schools is similar to that of the city population and the Catholic school system has not expanded enough to absorb a significant proportion of the existing majority students.

percent of all city students with 12 percent of all teachers; for Asians, 8.6 percent students with 9 percent teachers; for Indian Americans, 1 percent students with 1.6 percent teachers; for whites (not of Hispanic origin) 41 percent students with 68 percent teachers. Although the district continues to hire staff members from majority groups, the percentage of minority staff remained constant from 1975 to 1979.

At the top of the school district's policy hierarchy are the seven members of the school board who work closely with the superintendent of schools. The president of the board is Mexican-American, there is one black female member, and the remaining members are white. The Mexican-American and black members closely identify with their respective racial groups. The superintendent of the last 2 years had earlier experience with the desegregation of another large school system. One of the superintendent's assistants is Mexican-American.

Westville has a successful record in obtaining State and Federal monies. During the 1978-1979 school year, the district's total income was between $57 and $58 million, with approximately $13 million of this amount obtained from State and Federal sources. In addition about $20 million of the district's income came from unrestricted State funds and $15 million was obtained from local sources for restricted use.

The Desegregation Process

History of the Desegregation Process

In the WUSD, the administration and management of local schools is not wholly autonomous from formal city or regional political organizations. Major policy decisions are made by publicly elected trustees and appointed superintendents. Although these individuals are linked in varying ways to

the community political and racial structure, the larger formal structure has a direct bearing over school issues. The school system, as other institutions, is created and maintained by the dominant white majority.

The WUSD desegregation movement can be divided into four general periods:

1. Voluntary desegregation--From 1966 to 1970 a new liberal superintendent worked for voluntary desegregation. Anti-busing forces in the community and on the school board proved to be much more powerful than the smaller pro-integration groups.

2. Litigation--During the 1970-1974 period a desegregation suit was filed against the school district, the southside gained political power, and a court order to desegregate was handed down.

3. Remedy--From 1974 to 1976 the legal battle over desegregation and the development by the district of an acceptable plan became a continuing issue.

4. Implementation--During the period from 1977 to the present, a plan was designed and implemented.

Voluntary Desegregation:

In 1966 the school board hired a superintendent who had hopes for and an interest in voluntary desegregation.* In an abstract of State and Federal framework of legislative concern over existing segregation, the superintendent's liberal leanings did not originally upset the board as they would in the future. The year after his appointment, the superintendent applied for an HEW grant to finance the development of a "Long Range Planning Strategy" for the district. Bringing together numerous pro-integration administrators and community persons, this project received $111,000 in funding over a period of years. The project formed a committee to deal with the desegregation issue. For two years

*Narrative compiled from interviews with various school officials, community leaders, and from the literature.

(1966-1967), the Long Range Planning Committee sketched various desegregation plan amid rising community awareness and resistance to the potential implementation of such plans. During the late 1960s and early 1970s there were hostile debates over the desegregation issue; up to 2,000 citizens attended board meetings to protest and, on occasion, to support the movement toward desegregation. According to one author, the pro-integration position of school administrators on the Long Range Planning Committee project "spurred increasing anger and political organization in the northside of town." At only one meeting during this period did the pro-integration groups outnumber the antibusing groups.

Despite rhetoric attesting to the desire to achieve racial balance, the board dismissed all 14 of the Long Range Planning integration proposals. The antibusing forces gained ground until, in 1969, the superintendent resigned and the antibusing group won a landslide victory in the school board election over the northside liberal supporters of integration. At this time two members of minority groups (white-sponsored) were on the board; one was a Mexican who campaigned on an antibusing stance and retained his seat, and the other was a black who supported integration and lost his seat. In addition, another Mexican-American ran for the board on a pro-busing stance and lost.

Early pro-integration forces joined together to form the integrated Equal Opportunity Coalition in (EOC) 1967. This group of integrated liberal north and southsiders favored voluntary integration and helped form

political alliances among the NAACP, the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), the Council for the Spanish-Speaking, and the Black Unity Conference. Clearly defeated in the 1969 board election, this coalition continued to gain strength, and in the following year won a campaign to change city council elections from at-large voting (favoring the resource-rich northside) to district voting. Pro-integration forces now pushed for voluntary integration of one school in east Westville where integration could be achieved with minimal cost. This push met with little success and the board rejected six plans before winning State funding to build a new, integrated school.

Litigation

The new school opened in 1970, but the board refused to make it an integrated setting and the pro-integration coalition sued the district for noncompliance in its contract with the State. Represented by the Federally funded State Legal Rural Assistance (SLRA), a district-wide class-action suit was filed with the State Superior Court against the board. The issue was no longer that of creating one integrated school, but rather the full desegregation of the district. The following year the board attempted to arrange for an out-of-court settlement with SLRA, but after considerable public protest, negotiation was terminated.

The board members hired a new superintendent more sympathetic to their conservative viewpoint, though he began to work discretely behind the scenes to improve the racial balance of the staff. He extended official recognition to various minority professional groups within the district and promoted early bilingual education. According to one author (1978) "Overall,

[Mr. Green's] actions were entirely consistent with the compensatory education thrust of the board. He took no actions which resulted in integration, but tried to meet minority concerns within the board's policy limits." Pro-integration forces did not perceive this superintendent as an ally. As an example they cited the determination of the school board to implement the recommendations made in a study by the Westinghouse Learning Corporation (an external group). These recommendations were concerned with the reorganization of Westville schools, including the location of a new school to be built between 1971 and 1975. The Westinghouse Plan favored preservation of traditional neighborhood schools and completely ignored the issue of school integration.

In protest to this and other plans, the southside organization PEOPLE (Positive Educational Opportunity Provides Lasting Equality) made a proposal to form a new school district to replace the Westville Unified School District. The group won a decisive electoral victory when school board election procedures were changed from city-wide to district voting. As a result, in 1973, five of the new board members were endorsed by IEOC on PEOPLE. Three lived on the southside and two of these were PEOPLE members. Only two winners were known to favor busing, but all were obviously more open to community input than previous boards.

In 1974 the desegregation suit came to trial in the County Superior Court, a culmination of 4 years of pretrial maneuvering between the State Legal Rural Assistance and the district's lawyers. Even though it was obvious from the beginning that the district was out of compliance with Federal guidelines, the district spent approximately half a million dollars to fight the suit. The four month trial ended with a

ruling that WUSD had deliberately segregated pupils by race and was ordered to "implement a plan of desegregation which will eliminate all vestiges of a racially segregated school system, such a plan to be submitted to this court for approval." The judge also issued an injunction stopping work on the $20-million building until an appropriate desegregation plan had been submitted to the court.

The beginnings of a remedy

At this point the central administration took a more active role in resolving the desegregation issue and in 1974 a statement was released to the public which explained the alternatives open to the district. Basically, the administration document detailed the dilemma and put forth a desegregation plan for public discussion. In the following year more than "30 groups" discussed this plan with the administration and later that year the administration's plan was taken to the board.

Desegregation Analyses

Analyses of desegregation in Westville begins with six features of special interest:

1. The WUSD is bordered by five other public schools, two of which fall within the Westville metropolitan area. Only WUSD is under court order to desegregate.

2. WUSD has a much poorer and ethnically diverse population than the two other school districts and prior to the court order there was a growing loss of majority students and an increase in minority students. Residential segregation maintains ethnic and class boundaries in the area.

3. WUSD ranks high among the State's public schools in regard to background factors associated with low student performance on standardized tests (high percentage of bilingual, high percentage

of children from families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and a high percentage of minorities). School officials see student low test performance as a class issue; white parent groups see the low ratings in a racist light, "all minorities do less well in school."

4. City politics is not independent from school administration. On the contrary, school desegregation may have increased community action. Although token, it was not until the last election that a Mexican-American achieved the position of city councilman. The first black municipal judge was recently appointed and his predecessor was the first Asian to sit on the bench.

5. Restrictive residential racial covenants and school boundaries drawn to maintain and promote segregation have, over time, rendered the WUSD segregatd. This history of intentional segregation is documented in a 1974 Memorandum of Decision handed down by the County Superior Court; also documented are the detrimental effects of segregation on minority children and minority education.

6. In the past 15 years there have been signs of increasing flexibility in ethnic residential boundaries, allowing a small number of minority group members to attend formerly all-white schools. In table 3, for example, some of the changing racial enrollment trends are shown.

TABLE 3

Changing Racial Enrollments of Two WUSD "White" Elementary Schools Before Desegregation

School	Year	Caucasian	Mexican-American	Black
A	1965	88.7%	5.5%	0.2%
	1975	74.0%	13.7%	4.6%
B	1965	97.0%	0.8%	0.2%
	1975	80.0%	9.3%	3.3%

SOURCE: WUSD Pupil National Origin Reports, 1965 and 1975, Office of Reseach and Evaluation, WUSD, Westville, USA.

The major mandate of Westville's desegregation plan was to "assign students so that the minority/majority group representation in each school shall not be so disproportionate as realistically to isolate minority students from other students" (WUSD, 1977). To achieve this end, many schools along the north-south axis were paired, and attendance boundaries were rearranged for central city and other less highly segregated schools. At the elementary level, ten schools were paired, nine were put into triads, and six had boundaries adjusted and remained as neighborhood K-6 schools. Three magnet schools were established. Pairing was done predominantly on the north-south axis, which cuts across racial lines to include minorities and whites. One exception was the pairing of two neighboring eastside elementary schools (a low economic sector "white" school and a low economic sector Mexican and black school).

At the middle school level, the transition was made from three-grade junior high schools to two-grade middle schools. The northern and southern middle schools were paired and two eastern/southern schools had their boundaries altered to attain ethnic and racial balance. Three high schools were to be desegregated by pairing the north and south high schools and altering the boundaries of the east high school.

The pairing system necessitates extensive busing of students from minority as well as majority groups. At this writing, approximately 7,500 students are bused compared with the 3,900 students bused before desegregation. Kindergarten students were excluded from the desegregation plan.

The degree of success of the desegregation plan can be partially

measured by comparing the racial balance before and after implementation of the court-ordered desegregation plan. In 1973-1974, the year the court decision to desegregate was handed down, 84 percent of the district's schools were found to be segregated. Part of the way through the second year of full implementation of the desegregation plan (1978-1979) the district reported that 33 percent of the schools remained segregated. Tables 4 and 5 illustrate the national origin balance before and after the implementation of the desegregation plan.

TABLE 4

1973-74 National Origin Balance of WUSD's Schools*

School Type	Number in Racial Balance	Number Segregated	Total
Elementary	4	26	30
Junior High	1	4	5
Senior High	1	2	3
Total	6	32	38

SOURCE: Data compiled from the Memorandum of Decision, Superior Court.
*The State uses a ±15 percent variation from total district enrollment of students from minority and majority groups to determine degree of balance or segregation.

TABLE 5

1978-79 National Origin Balance of WUSD's Schools (using the 15 percent variation)

School Type	Number within national origin balance	Number segregated	Total
Elementary	18	11	29
Middle	4	0	4
Senior High	2	1	3
Total	24	12	36

SOURCE: WUSD National Origin Report, Westville, October 1978

The desegregation plan has been successful in reducing the number of segregated schools from 84 percent of all schools to 33 percent of all schools. Twelve schools remain segregated; in eight of these schools members of minority groups comprise between 70 and 80 percent of the total student enrollment. The other four segregated schools have predominantly majority students (WUSD, 1979 Desegregation Task Force Report).

In the case of the seven paired elementary schools, it appears that majority students assigned to these schools either have moved or parents are sending them to other schools (private and public) during the years when they would be bused to the "minority" paired school. Three of the four elementary schools with predominantly majority students appear not to have within their attendance area a sufficient number of minority students, and the degree of segregation of these schools is not as severe.

The other segregated elementary school having predominantly majority students is a formerly "white" eastside school which services low-income students sometimes referred to as "Okies." This school was paired with neighboring black and Hispanic schools. Blacks, however, are not sending their children to this school. The children go elsewhere for grades 1 to 3 and return to the neighborhood school for grades 4-6 (WUSD, National Origin Report, 1978, and personal communication from WUSD Office of Research and Evaluation).

The "white" high school has desegregated (now 52 percent of the enrollment is composed of minority group students), but the formerly minority high school has not reached balance, with only 25 percent of all

students belonging to the majority ethnic group (WUSD National Origin Report, 1978).

Some of the main features of the desegregation plan and implementation to date are summarized below.

1. The district is responsible for implementation of the plan and reporting school national origin balances to the court each December. The disrict has established a desegregation monitoring committee to study other qualitative and quantitative measures of the plan.

2. Readjustment of attendance boundaries is possible at any time if necessary to meet racial balance. Some boundaries have been changed to promote greater desegregation, though the rumor of boundary adjustment has caused some people to change residence.

3. Bilingual education programs will follow State and Federal guidelines. Currently, the district's bilingual educational program is in technical compliance with major State and Federal guidelines.

4. Busing will require involvement of both majority and minority students. Busing involves an equal proportion of students from minority and majority groups.

5. Within the school sites, pupils are to be assigned to individual classes so as to avoid racial isolation within the school. Although officials downplay the existence of classroom national origin isolation, it appears that a significant degree of such isolation does occur. Specifically, there is a tendency to isolate NES from LESA students. This is forbidden by State law.

6. School facilities are to be equalized. There has been effective equalization of school facilities and course offerings.

7. The board is responsible for the implementation of inservice training of staff, students, and interested parents. Inservice programs have been carried out with varying degrees of success. Greater promotion of "racial awareness" among teachers and administrators is needed. Inservice programs for parents, particularly Hispanic parents, have not been very successful due to the lack of Spanish-speaking personnel. Further, the topics offered are limited ones (e.g. cake decorating, sewing).

8. Regular fund classroom teachers are to be assigned so as to prevent racially identifiable staffs. The limitation on this mandate is due to the fact that 68 percent of all teachers belong to the majority white group.

9. As paired schools individually desegregate, the parents whose children are served by each of the paired schools may jointly petition the board to have each school serve pupils from grades K-6. As no paired schools have individually desegregated their neighborhoods, this has not yet become an issue.

The majority of the district's schools are presently in national origin balance. As one school administrator stated, "Desegregation is well under way in Westville, although it is by no means fully achieved."

The implementation of the desegregation plan was orderly and smooth and reflected the considerable care taken in preparation for each step of the process. There were extensive attempts made to inform parents of the procedures: children were taken to visit the schools to which they would be bused, student councils were actively involved in the process, parents were invited to meet each other, and a high school student group was formed to serve as an ongoing body to promote desegregation at the high school level. In addition, plans for the first days of elementary desegregation were carefully made, with media control, leading The Los Angeles Times to editorialize that Westville had "set an example for other cities, including Los Angeles."

There are two contributing factors to the relative success of the Westville desegregation plan. First, the plan was carefully thought out; and second, the plan is sufficiently equitable in design to provide a basis for future full desegregation of the district's schools.

HISTORY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

An early push for bilingual education came from teachers who faced the problems of the NES/LESA student on the front lines. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a group of Hispanic teachers took their concerns to both the community and the district. At that time, a liberal superintendent shared their concerns and worked to obtain the initial Title VII monies for the experimental bilingual program. (This same superintendent was instrumental in the early push for desegregation.) The early experimental years provided a major thrust to bilingual education along with basic compliance with State and Federal mandates.

There has not been a widespread push for bilingual education from the community and from Anglo teachers. In fact, bilingual education appears to have met heavy resistance from the majority of Anglo teachers and administrators who feel Hispanic students should speak and learn English like the "rest" of the American population. Since bilingual programs have served NES/LESA students from low-income families, and since bilingual education has never been a priority in the district, the programs are viewed as remedial by school personnel and the community.

Currently, the bilingual program is comprised of a program director, a Title VII director, 11 specialists who work with the school-site bilingual teachers, 86 teachers, and 97 aids. The program serves 1,600 students of which 1,254 are elementary school pupils. Of the elementary students, 10 percent are in a full bilingual program, 46 percent are in a partial program, and 42 percent receive individualized instruction. State law mandates that any school with 10 or more NES/LESA students at a given grade level must provide a partial bilingual program for these students.

One of the major problems facing the bilingual program is the lack of properly trained teachers. Only 49 percent of bilingual program teachers are bilingual, although the existing State law requires that all bilingual teachers be bilingual by September 1979.

The Impact of Desegregation on Community and Schools

Two things must be kept in mind when summarizing the effects of desegregation of the Westville community and its schools. First, full desegregation has only been implemented since the 1977-1978 school year, so the time for social change has been limited. Second, actual school desegregation was preceded by more than 10 years of debate and conflict, heightening anxiety and possibly exacerbating white exodus.

The most common manifestation of opposition to desegregation was, and remains, opposition to busing. Large numbers of parents from all classes repeatedly oppose busing for these reasons: (1) the distance traveled makes it difficult for parents to reach schools in case of an emergency; (2) children need to rise earlier; (3) it is difficult to schedule activities after school; (4) low-income families have transportation difficulties when visiting teachers at the schools; (5) parents may have as many as five children in different schools due to the pairing of schools; and (6) children arrive home from school at different times from different schools complicating the child-care situation for working parents.

Looking more closely, as minority parents and students experience the varied manifestations of racism in desegregating schools, they at times feel alienated from a distant and traditionally "white" school and its staff. Some Hispanic parents report that their children have been

improperly judged by teachers and labeled as retarded or as extremely slow learners. In other instances, a child has been assigned a different curriculum each year, such as a third-rate reading level one year and a first-grade reading level the next, dependent on attendance school. Hispanic parents also found that the staffs of formerly minority schools do not receive incoming minority students very well. Parents are aware that the dominant group expectations for Hispanic children limit their educational oportunities.

In a broader context, it is apparent that opposition to desegregation is not limited to protests about busing. The topic of busing often veils the basic issue of racism, and a significant number of majority parents openly object in the early public hearings, for instance, to having their children educated with minorities. Indeed, this reveals considerable overt racism and thwarts minority desires to desegregate.

Hispanic Response to Desegregation Many, perhaps the majority of monolingual Hispanic parents oppose busing almost as much as other groups. These parents frequently were, and continue to be, uncertain of the value of having their children transported across town for the purposes of achieving racial balance. These parents constitute a rather large percentage of all Hispanic parents in the district. However, some Hispanic parents actively promoted desegregation, feeling that their children could benefit from exposure to different cultural values and that northern schools were better schools. Feelings, however, were far from unilateral. One observer's comment on minority involvement seems a rather accurate one:

> Mexican-Americans remained divided throughout the issue and no more than a few Asian groups ever committed themselves publicly. In general, there was a pattern in minority groups toward the desegregation issue. Organized political groups tended to favor integration, regardless of which ethnic group dominated their membership. More traditional social or religious groups showed far less commitment to integration, and southsiders without organizational affiliations tended to ignore or disapprove of the issue. The common ground which eventually united the minority communities was made.

The monolingual Spanish-speaking community (the population served by bilingual education) played little role in the desegregation debate. It is not clear that possession of a broader understanding of the issue would have increased their support of desegregation. This segment of the Hispanic community proved extremely difficult to reach. When recently questioned, almost half of the monolingual parents did not fully understand why their children were being bused. Some saw it as a mysterious local policy, others felt that it had to do with some national law. A few of the monolingual parents seemed to understand that busing was an effort to mix black and white students. As these parents considered themselves neither black nor white, they appeared as unwilling and uninvolved participants in this effort.

Many persons in the monolingual Spanish population would prefer a return to the neighborhood schools, but have come to accept busing as an unavoidable reality. A request from this group that their children be exempt from busing received a quick and flat refusal. Parents' surprise at this refusal indicates again their lack of understanding about the desegregation issue.

Hispanic Parental Participation Within the Schools Low-income Anglo and minority parents are reported to be little involved in school affairs. There are a number of interesting reasons for the low participation of

Hispanic parents. At the most obvious level, language difficulties present a formidable barrier to meaningful participation by the monolingual community. Few school employees speak Spanish, and interpreters are rarely provided for public meetings, parent training sessions, or parent teacher conferences. Also, other common barriers to effective participation in school affairs often take the form of conscious and unconscious cultural misunderstandings and conflicts. As only a relatively small number of Anglos and Hispanics are truly bicultural, there is a certain amount of uneasiness in their interactions. For example, even with a healthy dose of goodwill, a parent's deferring manner may be construed by the teacher as evidence of that parent's lack of interest in his or her child.

Unfortunately, the schools continue an undertone of racism. Indirectly, children of monolingual parents are taught that their parents "do not know anything" because they do not speak English; even the Mexican system of math calculations is often discredited because Anglo teachers do not understand how it works. Many Hispanic parents perceive this situation and react by avoiding such uncomfortable and racist environments. In regard to school affairs, many members of the Hispanic community exhibit what one observer termed "the culture of silence." By this he meant that parents feel alienated from the school and believe that when they participate their voices are not heard. The same parents feel that their ideas are solicited for "compliance concerns" only and that the school appears to have little interest in accepting their input and meeting their needs.

Impact of Desegregation on the quality of Education and Teachers:

With desegregation there has been a widespread effort by the district to equalize facilities and course offerings. This is especially noticeable at the high school level, where many more courses were offered pre-desegregation at the northern school than at the southern school. Beyond this, we are faced with the perpetual pros and cons of national origin and socio-economic mix and their individual and continued effects on the quality of education. What does seem clear is that teachers from the formerly majority schools frequently exhibit low expectations for minority students. This problem, as well as being identified by parents and teachers, was also introduced by an elementary school principal when asked about the response of his faculty to becoming a "compensatory education" school as a result of the pairing process. His candid but off the record response was that many teachers felt these pupils should be placed in classes for the educably mentally retarded. The problem of low teacher expectations for incoming compensatory education students is of major difficulty during the transition. The attitude on the part of some teachers obviously provides a formidable stumbling block to equal educational opportunity and to full educational achievement by low-income students. Understandably, teachers can greatly resent compensatory education inasmuch as it is viewed as an intrusion on their domain. Teachers many times resent having to open their classrooms to aids and parents, provide special services to only identified students, participate in in-service training, work with parent advisory groups, increase their sensitivity to minority students, etc. This imposes a major responsibility and change in priorities for teachers already established

in school and already routinized in their daily responsibilities. This is, indeed, an additional burden that not only demands extra effort, but a re-evaluation of present activities, and in some instances, a re-adjustment of well-seated prejudices.

There is another factor to consider in the impact of desegregation on the quality of education. A majority of the bilingual teachers do not feel that desegregation itself will enhance the education of NES/LESA students. They stress factors undermining the education of these students such as low teacher expectations for "dark-skinned, Hispanic-looking students." These teachers also cite the tendency of majority teachers to place low-achieving native English speakers in bilingual classes to meet the mandatory two-thirds to one-third NES/LESA native-English-speaker balance. Bilingual teachers have noted what is perhaps the most important and alarming factor in the impact of desegregation on equality of education: an overall lack of respect for the Hispanic and Hispanic-American cultures displayed by Anglo teachers and administrators.

At the elementary level, some teachers who opposed desegregation are, with the experience of desegregation, changing their attitudes. Others remain openly opposed to the process, and some Anglo teachers, having worked for years in majority schools, are having a hard time in paired schools. Bilingual teachers report feeling considerable hostility from the existing staff at formerly all-white schools. All teachers report that desegregation itself has created a tense situation, but most of them say the situation is improving.

Student Response to Desegregation and the Impact of Desegregation on Students The impact of desegregation on students is limited to data and perspectives gained within the four sample elementary schools. Interviews with students suggest that they did not associate desegregation with an increase in national origin tension within the school. When asked if they liked school, students' reasons for liking or disliking school did not seem to relate to the national origin mix of the school. Teachers, commenting on desegregation's impact upon students, reported that "elementary students have not had time to fully incorporate the values and beliefs of their parents." Further reports from the teachers included the following satements: "Kids this age don't distinguish between skin colors," and "To a child, everyone is the same."

Within the sample schools, there was a negative response concerning the northside Anglo students bused to the former southside project school. These students did not like this school and their reasons seemed to be related to the fact that they were being forced to associate with low-income blacks and Hispanos with whose behavior they did not feel comfortable.

Effects of Desegregation on Bilingual Education School officials report that desegregation has had little effect on bilingual education (See Table). On the surface, this "no impact" response appears reasonable because full implementation of bilingual education coincided with the full implementation of desegregation. In addition, there were other variables affecting bilingual education, such as the passage of the State Bilingual Education Law and the Office for Civil Rights' issue of noncompliance.

Observations from two school administrators, however, countered these "no impact" generalizations. While one administrator reported that through the desegregation process, the multilingual/multicultural school was created, observations by a second administrator were unsettling. According to this official, desegregation, in some settings, was having a detrimental effect upon bilingual students. Desegregation had caused a redistribution of students, teachers, and aids with consequent effects on previous programs. Teachers of a given grade level followed children of that level. In this process teachers and children were relocated, to the detriment of bilingual programs. Some bilingual teaching teams were broken up and forced to reorganize. Once transferred, these teachers often met with resistance from an Anglo staff who did not place a high value on the bilingual education programs at the newly desegregated, paired schools. Teachers were dependent on individual school administrators for support of these programs and "schools within schools" were created by the desegregation process. These "schools within schools" received little acceptance from mainstream administrators and teachers. The cool reception of bilingual teachers and education was also obvious to the children.

To have the elementary schools remain as K-6 neighborhood schools, national origin balance had to be reached without pairing. To do this, boundaries were redrawn, and in the process, more English-speaking minorities and NES/LESA students were brought into the schools. As the sites served all six grades, there were never enough NES/LESA students at these racially balanced neighborhood schools to require bilingual

education beyond an individualized "pull-out" program. Consequently, while in the district (at-large) only 42 percent of all NES/LESA students received individualized instruction; within the six K-6 schools, all of the NES/LESA students received this limited type of bilingual education.

CONCLUSIONS

Brief Review

A brief review of the school desegregation process and its impact on the Stockton Unified School District is in order. This review will focus on: (1) an 11-year span between initiation of the desegregation movement and implementation; (2) the court-ordered desegregation affect on only one of the three public school districts within the metropolitan area; (3) the impact of organized political efforts by grassroots southside organizations and a citywide coalition of liberal proponents of desegregation; (4) the active promotion of desegregation by a significant, organized number of middle-class liberal Anglos; and (5) the changing patterns of local ethnic conflict and cleavage.

1. Between 1966 and the desegregation of schools in 1977, there were 11 years for discussion, debate, protest, and accommodation to the more powerful interest groups. Thus, during the 11-year period opposing Anglo forces quickly organized, then peaked, and eventually tired in the face of losing odds; and (2) the more affluent economic sectors used this time to respond to the pending change by enrolling their children in private schools or by relocating to one of the two neighboring "white" school districts.

2. Of the three public school districts within the Westville Metropolitan area, only WUSD was involved in the litigation over segregation. The districts of Hilgard and Greyben were not involved, and these areas provided a convenient "escape valve" for the WUSD desegregation process. Affluent families, as reported to our

staff, were already moving out of the WUSD area, and realtors were quick to capitalize on this trend. Thus, the more affluent and powerful Anglos were not directly involved in the desegregation issue.

3. The southside political activist group, PEOPLE, and the liberal middle-class coalition, the IEOC, were able to obtain two significant electoral victories. The first was the 1971 defeat of the school bond issue which delayed implementation of a new school building plan (a plan which seemed to shortchange the southside and promote segregation). The second victory was the revision of the electoral system for school board elections from at-large to district voting. Because of this revision, a new board, more responsive to minority needs, was elected the next year.

4. Active promotion of desegregation by middle-class liberal Anglos through the formation of IEOC was an important contributing factor to the Westville desegregation process. This group worked to reform city council and school board election procedures and attempted to obtain a promise from the school board to desegregate just one public elementary school. This group of 100 individuals made six proposals to the school board for an integrated eastside elementary school, and all of these proposals were rejected. The board finally agreed to build an integrated eastside school with special State funds and also agreed parents would have a significant role in deciding the school's curriculum. While waiting for this new school to open, many parents from IEOC organized to have their children bused to another partially integrated school.

   When the board refused to integrate this new school, the IEOC sought legal assistance from the Federally funded SRLA group. With involvement of SRLA, the issue escalated from suing the city for noncompliance with its State contract to a district-wide suit for desegregation of the public schools. Following a several-month search period a group of minority parents agreed to be the plaintiffs in this case, and in April 1970 SRLA and the NAACP filed a class-action desegregation suit. Clearly, members of the liberal Anglo group saw the city's ethnic diversity as a source which could enhance their children's education.

5. A final factor involved changing patterns of racial conflict and cleavage within the city. For about 15 years prior to desegregation, Westville underwent gradual, limited accommodation of some minorities into the mainstream structures. Minority group members were hired by the school district and local government and some attained public positions. Unjust treatment of migrant agricultural workers was revealed and certain intolerable situations were remedied. For example, illegal aliens brought to work the fields could no longer be deported the day before they were to be paid for a season's work. Special educational needs of the monolingual ethnic community were brought to the attention of the district.

> During these struggles racial conflict peaked and enough power was exhibited by minorities to require some degree of accommodation by the mainstream Anglos. With this accommodation came a lessening of ethnic boundaries. Formerly all-Anglo political structures such as the city council began to incorporate a few members from minority groups, and businesses allowed some minority group members access to higher ranks. More teachers and teacher-aides were hired to meet the educational needs of the NES/LESA population. There was a move by middle-class minorities into better northern neighborhoods. In comparison with other areas where ethnic relations were more polarized, desegregation was facilitated by earlier manifestations of decreasing racial conflict and cleavage.

To draw attention to the interrelated nature of the separate desegregation processes, the following chart is presented. There is a logical order to the unfolding of each process and an essential interplay between the sets of developments. Specifically, the emergent and transforming patterns of racial conflict and cleavage provide the analytical framework for better understanding the social process of school desegregation.

CHART I

YEAR	DESEGREGATION CHRONOLOGY	CONFLICT AND CHANGE CHRONOLOGY (Community Histories)
1948-1960		The first minority teachers are hired by the district, including a Mexican-American, a black, and a Filipino.
Until late 1950s		Strong racial covenant restricting minority residence patterns contributes to maintenance of minority and "white schools.
Early 1950s		The district begins a minority recruitment program.
Mid-1950s		Internships are made available for minority administrators.
1965		Blacks and Hispanos unite in a protest at city hall; the issue concerns civil rights and various charges of discrimination.
		A white-sponsored black is elected to the school board.
		A federally funded community center is founded in south Westville.
1968	The board hires a liberal pro-integration superintendent.	
Late 1960s		Various political Mexican-American community groups are formed in the city.
1969	The board considers and rejects various desegregation plans, including one requested from the superintendent.	The first Mexican-American (white-sponsored) is elected to the school board.
	The superintendent resigns and antibusing forces win the school board election.	The Council for the Spanish-Speaking, a funded service organization, is founded to coordinate efforts with mainstream institutions (criminal justice system, welfare, education system, etc.)
1969-70	A citywide coalition of pro-integration forces continue to present plans for integration of at least one school to the board.	A coalition called the Integrated Equal Opportunity Coalition consisting of liberal Anglos and politicized blacks and Hispanos is formed to work for integration in the city's school system.
1970	A class-action suit for desegregation is filed against the district in the County Superior Court in the name of various black and Hispanic parents.	New employment opportunities begin to open up for minorities both within the district and in the community as a whole (i.e., the first Mexican-American auto insurance agent is hired in 1967, training programs are opened within the local universities, etc.)
		The United States census reports a limited, but growing movement of Spanish-speaking/surname persons into the more affluent north Westville area.
		The Council of Mexican-American Associations (COMA) is formed and it calls for integration of the schools, increased representation of Mexican-American in the city government, in the criminal justice system, etc.
		In the name of various minority parents a desegregation suit is filed against the WPSD.
1971	The Anglo-dominated school board initiates an abortive attempt to negotiate an out-of-court settlement with the plaintiffs' lawyers, SRLA.	PEOPLE expresses disapproval of the district's building plan and this south side group heavily comprised of minorities considers the formation of their own independent school district for the south side.
	The board hires a new superintendent whose views are more in line with its perspectives.	A new superintendent, while less openly committed to desegregation, works quietly to hire more minority staff and administrators for the district.
		The Mexican American Chamber of Commerce is formed in Westville to foment the business efforts of Mexican-Americans.
1972	The coalition of pro-integration forces succeeds in a campaign to reorganize school board elections from city-wide to district voting.	Liberal middle class groups in conjunction with politicized minority persons succeed in an electorial victory to reorganize school board elections from city-wide to district voting.
1973	A "new" school board, more responsive to minority needs, is elected; included are one Chicano and one black member.	A confederation of 18 Mexican-American community groups sues the the city for discrimination against Mexican-Americans in appointments to city policy-making bodies.
1974	The 4-month desegregation trial ends; the district, having been found to intentionally segregate, is ordered to desegregate; an injunction is also placed on the district's building plans; the board appeals the decision.	The desegregation suit comes to trial and the WPSD is found to be guilty of intentional segregation of the students.
	The school administration proposes a basic desegregation plan and discusses it with numerous community groups.	
1975	A citizen's committee representing a wide range of community leaders is set up to plan for desegregation.	
9/'75	The first phase of high school desegregation occurs.	
9/'76	The second phase of high school desegregation occurs.	
1977	The elementary schools are desegregated and "full" desegregation takes place; that is, all regular schools are now involved in the desegregation process.	The WPSD implements in a smooth fashion its desegregation plan for all schools.
1978		The Association of Mexican-American Educators is revitalized in order to confront new issues such as the upcoming lay-off of minority and other low tenure teachers, problems with bilingual education, and the like.

CHART II

YEAR	HISPANIC STAFF AND SCHOOL BOARD DEVELOPMENT	BILINGUAL EDUCATION CHRONOLOGY
1945	First Spanish-surname teacher hired.	
1950s	Establishment of a district program to recruit minority teachers.	
Mid 1950s	University internship for the training of a small number of minority teachers is established by the district.	
1966		The California Migrant Education project begins; the project provides classroom aids for limited-and non-English-speaking Hispanic students. English-as-a-second-language instruction is made available at some schools. The district receives Compensatory Education Title I funding which provides some funds for Spanish-speaking aids.
1967		An archaic State law providing that "all schools shall be taught in the English language" is repealed. Bilingual members of the Montrillo's Teacher Association form an Educational Coordinating Committee and recommends that the district implement bilingual education. The district forms a Bilingual Project Committee.
1968		A Title III grant provides a small amount of money for bilingual education.
1969	Association of Mexican-American Teachers is formed. First Mexican-American is elected to the school board.	The district's first 5-year Title VII grant for Experimental Bilingual Education is obtained and bilingual education is begun in two elementary schools. A Mexican-American educator is recruited to head the bilingual program.
1969-73		The Experimental Bilingual Program expands to include two more elementary schools.
1970	A Mexican-American is hired to head the Compensatory Education Program.	
1971	The superintendent reinstitutes a drive to recruit minority teachers.	
1972		A certain amount of the Compensatory Education funds are allotted to the district and earmarked to serve the needs of nonbilingual Spanish-speaking students.
1973	The second Mexican-American is elected to the school board.	The original Mexican-American bilingual director dies, and another Mexican-American is appointed to take his place.
1974	Spanish-speaking/surname teachers comprise 5 percent of all teachers, black teachers comprise 10 percent; two principals, two vice-principals, and two combination vice-principal-teachers are Hispanic.	Filipino and Chinese bilingual instructors are added to the bilingual program.
1974-75		The district allots $30,000 of its own funding for the Bilingual Education Program; this is combined with $270,000 from Title VII sources.
1975	The bilingual program is expanded to include the hiring of more Hispanic teachers and aides. A title VII grant includes money for training Hispanic teachers and administrators.	Additional Title I funds are made available to the district for bilingual education.
1975-76		The district allocates $300,000 of its funds to bilingual education and Title VII is now providing almost $700,000.
1976	Another Title VII grant provides funds for Hispanic teacher and administrator training.	State bilingual law is passed. It stipulates that if within any school a given grade level has 10 or more HES/LESA students, instruction must be provided in the native language. Another 5-year Title VII grant is obtained, expanding bilingual education to a total of eight schools. The district is found out of compliance by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) due to its failure to properly serve HES/LESA students; OCR threatens to withhold funds from the district.
1976-77		The district allocates $900,000 of its funding to bilingual education and the program's total budget, including Title VII and State funding, is $1,290,823.
6/'77		A Bilingual Master Plan is submitted to OCR and funding is not withheld from the district.
1977		A new bilingual director is hired.
1977-78		The district begins full implementation of the Bilingual Master Plan.
1978	Diminishing resources in the district, due to the passing of California's Proposition 13, threaten the most recently hired teachers (including 25 Hispanics) with layoffs. Revitalization of the Mexican-American teachers' group.	
1978-79		While other sources remain somewhat constant, the district's contribution to the Bilingual Education Program is lowered to $300,000 due to statewide budgetary cuts.

Are the Educational Needs of the Hispanic Community Being Met by WUSD's Desegregation Plan?

In Wes?ville, a transitional bilingual educational approach has been used to meet the linguistic needs of Hispanic students. Technically, non- or limited-English-speaking students receive special instruction in their native language until they are able to make the transition to instruction in English. An attempt is being made to provide some degree of special linguistic training for NES/LESA students, but not all of these students receive full instruction in their native language.

Bilingual education has been both adversely and positively affected by the desegregation process. The degree to which bilingual programs benefit or suffer is related to their stage of development prior to the beginning of desegregation programs. Highly developed programs may be severely disrupted as students are redistributed to reach national origin balance, but lesser developed programs may be stimulated to higher states of organization through the desegregation process. At the same time, well established bilingual programs are less likely to be dismantled. The impact of desegregation programs is also determined by the amount of attention given to varying ethnic needs within the desegregation plan. Minimally, the desegregation plan must include adherence to State and Federal bilingual mandates and NES/LESA students must be given priority within the desegregation plan.

Some outcomes of the desegregation plan were detrimental to bilingual education. Within the neighborhood K-6 schools insufficient attention was given to achieving a sufficient concentration of NES/LESA students at each grade level. Thus, the NES/LESA students within these schools receive only minimal bilingual education. The creation of a magnet multicultural-

multilingual school met the required national origin balance and opened the possibility for full-scale, quality bilingual education. Unfortunately, this possibility was undermined by a lack of administrative commitment. The administration chose a would-be abandoned school site for this plan, failed to provide adequate materials, gave little publicity to the program, and gave little consideration to continuing the bilingual education of these children beyond the sixth grade.

For maximum service of special educational needs of ethnic minorities, the desegregation plan should take into account the key ethnic variables of that situation. Such a plan should distinguish the needs of blacks from those of Hispanos as well as from those of other national origin minorities. Further, it is important that the desegregation plan adhere to existing State and Federal guidelines for bilingual education. Attempts should be made to avoid dispersing NES/LESA students to such an extent that bilingual education at each grade level is economically impractical. In the case of this State, any grade within a school with 10 or more NES/LESA students must provide education in the native language.

A desegregation plan striving to enhance the education of minorities might well include the creation of magnet multicultural/multilingual schools. Such schools, if given priority and proper resources, can serve as centers where national origin minorities, as well as the Anglo majority, are educated to be both bicultural and bilingual.

CHAPTER III

EASTVILLE: A CASE STUDY

GEOGRAPHIC AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Eastville,* an industrial city of 156,000, is located on the Northeastern seaboard. It has a high percentage of low-skilled, manual jobs in textiles; electrical; ordinance; mechanical; and transportation equipment industries. The city has many scattered low-cost housing projects. Ethnic groups include Irish, Italian, blacks, Spanish-speaking Americans and Central Europeans. These groups are relatively well defined and maintain their traditions through churches and social clubs. An estimated 20,759 Hispanos (14 percent) live in Eastville. This figure represents an increase of 6,692 or 47.5 percent during the last five and one half years. The Hispano population includes 15,399 Puerto Ricans (74.1 percent) and 3,704 Cubans (17.8 percent), with the remaining 1,692 classified as "Spanish-speaking" or "Spanish-American" (8.1 percent).

As of 1970, there were 25,561 blacks in the city (16.3 percent of the city's population. Although more recent estimates of blacks are unavailable, the black population is now close to that for Hispanos. Sixty-eight percent of the total city population are white Eastern Europeans.

*Note: Eastville is a pseudonym coined at the request of school district officials who were recently involved in a desegregation suit. The researchers gained official entry into the district by promising confidentiality and anonymity.

Specific areas form concentric zones around Eastville's central business district—core, ring, and fringe. Each area includes residents with similar socio-economic characteristics. The core area closest to the central business district is the lowest income area; the ring area is a somewhat higher income residential section; and the fringe area contains the largest proportion of higher income households. The majority of Hispanos (57.7 percent) are concentrated in the core, with fewer in the ring (34.6 percent) and very few (7.7 percent) in the fringe. These figures, however, can be misleading. A further look at Hispanic dispersal reveals that 68.3 percent of the Puerto Ricans live in the core, 30.2 percent in the ring, and 1.5 percent in the fringe; by contrast, 17.4 percent of the Cubans live in the core, 49.7 percent in the ring and 33 percent in the fringe. Inasmuch as Puerto Ricans constitute the largest majority of the Hispanos in Eastville, many of our observations will focus on Puerto Ricans. At times, contrasts will be made between Puerto Ricans and other Hispanos. These contrasts are quite significant and important to indicate. We cannot easily generalize from one Hispanic group to another without major qualifications.

Hispanic Demographics

Nearly 60 percent of the Puerto Ricans and most of the Cubans have arrived in Eastville within the last 15 years (Table 6). While these two groups compose over 90 percent of all Hispanos, considerably different demographic characteristics exist between them.

Sixty-five percent of Puerto Ricans are first generation. Forty-one percent report that they speak English well, while 40 percent consider their

English skills to be poor or non-existent. (In contrast, 50.9 percent of Cubans feel that they speak English well and 1.1 percent report their English skills as poor or non-existent.) Although the majority of Puerto Ricans eventually plan to return to the island of Puerto Rico, Cubans realize they will probably never be able to return to their homeland and seem more highly motivated to learn English.

TABLE 6

Year of Migration to the United States by Puerto Rican and Cuban Newcomers to Eastville

Year of U.S. Arrival	Puerto Ricans	Cubans
1971-75	21.5%	19.0%
1966-70	27.5%	53.9%
1961-65	10.2%	16.2%
1956-60	11.3%	6.3%
1951-55	17.3%	1.3%
1946-50	5.2%	0.7%
1941-45	0.7%	1.3%
1940 & Before	0.2%	0
Don't know	6.1%	1.3%
Total Migrants	100.0%	100.0%
	(9,437)	(3,115)
Born on Mainland	38.7%	15.9%
	(5,962)	(589)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(15,399)	(3,704)

The age composition of Puerto Rican and Cuban populations in Eastville reveals that the median age for Puerto Ricans is 16.3 years and for Cubans, 24.0 years. Puerto Ricans have a higher ratio of dependents than Cubans. Puerto Ricans have a smaller proportion of working-age persons (53.2 percent) than Cubans (68.2 percent). Overall, the Hispanic population is very youthful compared to the city's total population.

Puerto Rican residents of Eastville experience severe unemployment. In 1975, the unemployment rate was 13.7 percent for Eastville's Hispanos as a whole as compared to 8.6 percent nationwide, but the unemployment for Puerto Ricans was 28.3 percent. In contrast, unemployment for the city's Cuban population was 9.8 percent. Unemployment for the city's white population was 7 percent. The severity of these unemployment figures for Puerto Ricans is compounded by two factors: (1) the mean dependency ratio (number of dependents per employed person) is 2.7:1 for Puerto Ricans, compared to 1.3:1 for the entire city; and (2) nearly two-thirds of Puerto Rican workers earn less than $400.00 per month, compared with 23 percent of Cubans, 28 percent of blacks, and 16 percent of the total city population.

Blue collar jobs comprise 73 percent of the Puerto Rican employment; the job classification "operative," referring to machine tenders and semi-skilled factory laborers, accounts for 41 percent of the total. The remaining 27 percent of Puerto Rican workers are employed at the lowest rank of white collar occupations, clerical workers. In a 1975 study, the most commonly cited reason Puerto Ricans gave for unemployment and job refusal was a lack of English-speaking ability (48.6 percent), while racial discrimination was 9 percent. Comparative data on the Cuban community is interesting: although Cubans rarely cited language difficulties as a reason for job refusal or unemployment, nearly one-third cited racial discrimination. It may well be that racism is a hidden motivation for job refusals for Puerto Ricans with the lack of English-speaking ability the overt reason.

The poor and disadvantaged face special barriers to attaining employment in Eastville. The Puerto Rican faces an even more magnified problem. He or she must cope with a lack of transportation, inadequate child care facilities. Only 53 percent of Puerto Rican families own cars as compared with 87 percent of Cuban families and a greater proportion among non-Hispanos; thus a substantial portion of the Puerto Rican poipulation must depend on the inadequate, unreliable Eastville transportation system. The public transportation service has been cut back in recent years, the bus routes do not penetrate very far into the inner city, and the period of service is limited. The middle and upper classes in political power have little motivation to upgrade the public transportation system. In another vein, quality child care is not easily available to the Puerto Rican

family: the absence of extended family in the mainland often precludes family child care, and the cost of outside child care is prohibitive. In addition, lack of occupational skills and lack of English language proficiency further limit advancement in employment.

The Puerto Rican Hispano, recently arrived, linguistically isolated and residentially ghettoized, economically exploited and physically discriminated, has had little opportunity to join the mainstream of Eastville life.

During the post-World War II economic boom, Puerto Ricans began arriving in Eastville. Although they were United States citizens, residents of Eastville regarded them as foreigners. The new arrivals settled into the readily available substandard housing. Local newspapers reported widespread rent "gouging." In addition, gas leaks from faulty heaters led to several deaths. A 1955 housing survey reported that 64 percent of landlords would not rent to Puerto Ricans, while another 25 percent of landlords would rent to Puerto Ricans only if they were well adjusted and spoke English.

Since the mid-fifties, Puerto Ricans have felt the economic sting of racism, while whites have benefited from preferential hiring practices. The same barriers to employment and housing which exist for the Puerto Rican community also prohibit their effective participation in the city's political affairs. In 1970 it was estimated that only 14 percent of Puerto Ricans eligible to vote exercised this right in the local election. According to news reports from the middle fifties, Puerto Ricans have been denied voter registration because they could not pass literacy tests. Until

recently, ballots and registration forms were not printed in Spanish and there is still a scarcity of locally published Spanish newspapers covering political issues. Television programming in Spanish is virtually non-existent. The mechanics of the local electoral process remain unfamiliar and complicated to the Spanish-speaking residents of Eastville, and public officials have made little effort to acquaint Puerto Ricans with their political rights.

Thus, Puerto Ricans have only a diffuse, weak influence on local politics. The Democratic machine which appears to run the political establishment has not sought Puerto Rican support. A number of informants insist that Puerto Ricans who have gained positions of power are immediately absorbed into the establishment power structure, adjust their views accordingly, and do not champion programs to benefit the Puerto Rican community. Churches and private civic organizations have described the situation, but have effected few changes.

Anti-Puerto Rican sentiment in Eastville climaxed with a 1957 FBI investigation of a Puerto Rican national liberation movement, allegedly involved in illegal activities and terrorism. The controversy waned when it was reported that the organization had moved to the Bronx. Yet, during the wave of anti-Puerto Rican sentiment accompanying the investigation, several accusations surfaced, for example: (1) that Puerto Ricans had been assisted by the Democratic party and the Socialist mayor in passing literacy tests; (2) blame, from the highest public city official, was put on the Puerto

Rican for the sharp rise in tuberculosis cases,* claiming that they disregarded health regulations; and (3) that white females were subjected to verbal advances from Puerto Rican males.

During the sixties, the Puerto Rican population increased in federally built housing projects in the older sections of the city's East Side. This concentration, brought on by discriminatory rent practices, effectively delineated the Puerto Rican citizens into an easily identifiable minority. Subsequent public prejudice and discrimination was more subtle, yet equally effective. This was expressed by job and public programs benefiting other minorities in Eastville.

Educational Characteristics

Among Hispanos, Cubans have a higher median level of education than Puerto Ricans: for adult Puerto Ricans the median level of schooling is 7.7 years as contrasted with 9.1 years for Cubans. The Eastville public schools are dominated by blacks and Puerto Ricans. Approximately 45 percent of white children are bused to private schools! Minority schools are inferior to predominantly white schools in programs offered, physical plant, and faculty. The mean educational level of 8.3 years for Puerto Ricans compared to 9.3 years for blacks. A 1964 report by the NAACP to the Eastville Board of Education documented that blacks and Hispanos are a full grade to two grades behind their white age mates. A sizable percentage (83 percent) of the Puerto Rican population between the ages of ten and fifteen does not attend school,

*Later investigations revealed the Puerto Rican tuberculosis rate the lowest in the city.

with the percentage rising to 28.5 percent in the 16-19 age group. These statistics actually represent an apparent improvement. In 1953, for example, it was estimated that 43 percent of all Puerto Rican children were not attending school. During the fourteen-year period 1964-1978, the racial and ethnic composition of the school district has undergone a number of striking changes. (See Graph II). During this period enrollment declined by greater than the increase of approximately 1,200 black and 4,300 Hispanic students. In fourteen years, a predominantly white district became a predominant minority district.

The degree of racial segregation, however, has not changed appreciably since 1964 when the NAACP presented its report on de facto segregation. In that year, whites comprised 63 percent of the school population, blacks and Hispanos 37 percent; yet, ten elementary schools had enrollments of at least 60 percent minority students, and ten other schools were from 92-100 percent white.

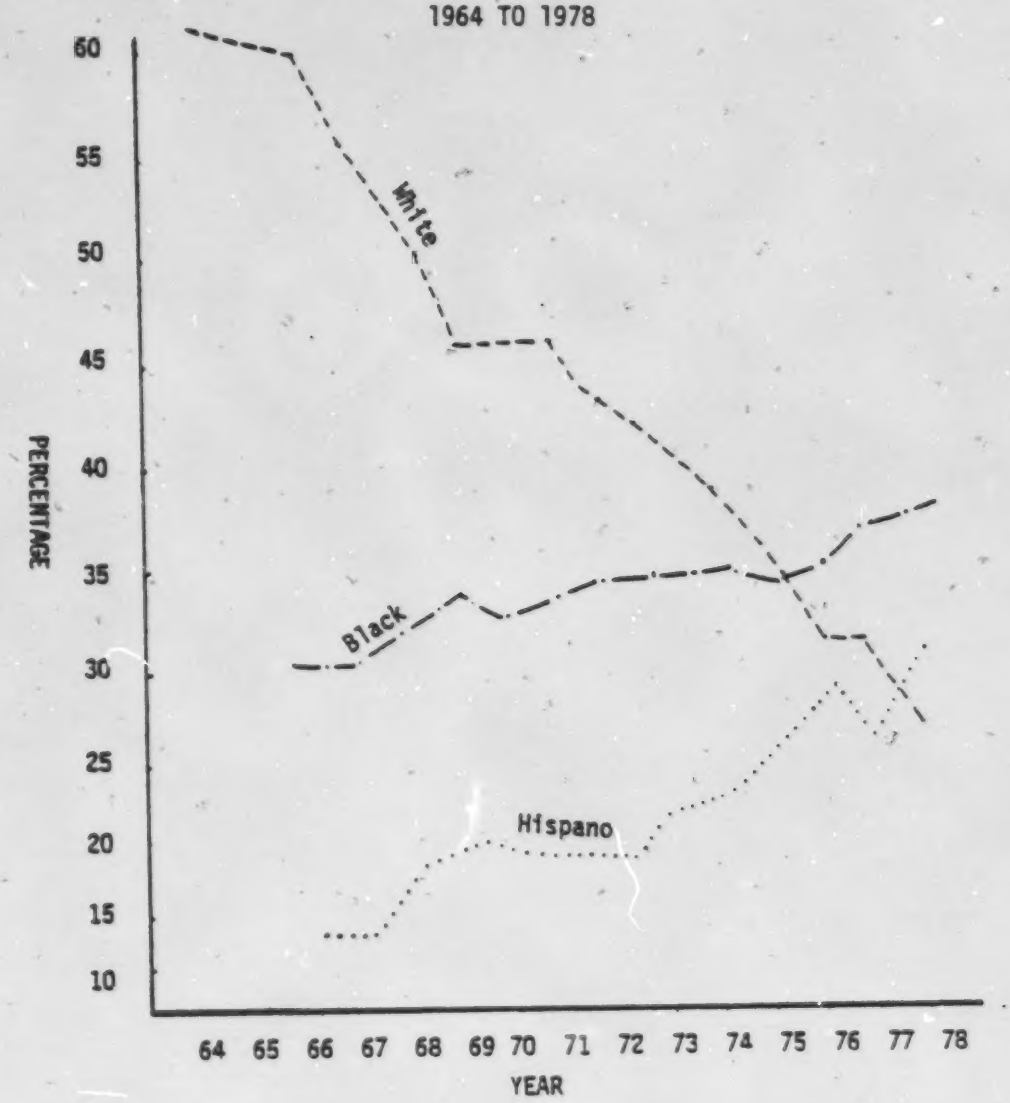
Today, powerful citizens in Eastville, predominantly white Protestants, still determine educational policy and allocation of educational resources. Their decision-making process is influenced by diverse self-interest groups and individuals not formally connected with the schools.

In 1969, the East Side Middle School was established as the first attempt to remedy segregated education in the city. However, this attempt quickly failed as the school rapidly became more than 85 percent minority.

GRAPH II

RACIAL AND ETHNIC ENROLLMENT TRENDS IN EASTVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1964 TO 1978



SOURCE: Office of the Superintendent, Eastville School District, 1978.

In Eastville, at present, approximately 21,864 students are enrolled in 38 schools. Distribution of grade levels in public schools is somewhat uneven. An elementary school may be pre-K through grade 3, while another only includes grades 4-5. The unevenness apparently results from demographic changes in neighborhood composition, but Hispanos allege that this pattern partially results from attempted segregation by the board of education. Eastville's current desegregation plan, stipulating that all schools must have minimum minority enrollment of at least 33 percent, has been implemented. However, there are no requirements for minimum enrollment of white students. Thus, a school could have 100 percent minority enrollment and still remain remain within the plan guidelines (indeed, nine schools are 95 percent minority as of 1978). An example of the permissible racial isolation is that 13 of 33 schools had white enrollments of less than 10 percent this past year.

The Desegregation Process

History of Desegregation

In 1969, the Spanish-American Coalition (SAC) was formed by a Catholic priest and Puerto Rican community activists, with the goal of promoting and protecting the civil rights of Spanish-speaking citizens. The original focal point was not desegregation, bilingual education, or other school activities. At first it was an arm of the federally funded Spanish-American Development Agency (SADA), but it later amicably split with SADA because of its increasing political activities. Until the formation of SAC, Puerto Rican organizations had been largely social in nature, however, when the

Puerto Ricans observed what the NAACP had done for blacks, they began to organize for political purposes.

During the period 1971-1975 a local, independent school organization was formed. Parents Actively Concerned About Education (PACE) had both black and Hispanic members, some of whom also belonged to NAACP and SAC. Although the NAACP had demanded desegregation for Hispanos as well as blacks, active Hispanic participation by Hispanos had been low until the formation of SAC and PACE. During 1969, blacks and Hispanos fought jointly for common interest. PACE pushed for three goals: (1) a hot lunch program in all priority schools; (2) expansion of bilingual education; and (3) quality desegregated education. At first PACE negotiated unsuccessfully with the board of education, which was backed by the Eastville Taxpayers Association, for a hot lunch program. The lunch program was endorsed only when the board realized they would lose the lawsuit filed by PACE for implementation of the federally subsidized program. The now politically active minority community had come to realize that legal negotiation was the only way to gain civil rights.

Blacks and Hispanos had been denied positions of power in city government and politics; the foundation of the AECD (Action for Eastville Community Development) provided minorities with a new power base. The AECD was funded with federal anti-poverty funds, was located in the inner city, and most importantly, was outside of the city's control. AECD's first challenge to the Eastville white power structure was to petition DHEW, along with SAC and the NAACP, to cut off funds to city schools because of rampant civil rights violations. These efforts were supported by the regional DHEW

Office for Civil Rights, but Washington denied the request.

In the face of continued minority agitation, the school board embarked on a new integration plan in 1973. The plan, entitled the "Spirit of '76", was just a broader version of the abortive Middle School Plan. The new strategy called for the creation of a number of K-8 "core schools" which would attract students from different ethnic backgrounds into an integrated setting. The new plan was immediately rejected by SAC and the NAACP on the same ground that they had objected to the Middle School Plan.

Earlier history--Years before the formal 1964 petition to end de facto segregation, the minorities of Eastville were distressed by the segregated, inequitable education received by their children as expressed in a report which the all-white board refused to recognize as legitimate that segregation existed de facto or otherwise. The NAACP report demonstrated blatant patterns of racial isolation: (1) ten schools had at least 90 percent minority students although the combined minority population of the district (black and Hispano) totaled 37 percent; (2) ten schools were at least 90 percent white; (3) predominantly minority schools were overcrowded or on double sessions; (4) teachers with the least experience taught in minority schools; (5) less than 10 percent of the teachers were black and few were Puerto Rican; (6) in grades 5-8 minority children lagged at least one full grade behind their white counterparts; and (7) the high school dropout rate for minority students was 80 percent higher than the rate for whites.

The board's response to the charge that segregation was damaging to minority children, was obviously unsatisfactory. First, the board maintained that Puerto Ricans were not a minority group because they were

not black. Thus the board considered the enrollment pattern described in the NAACP report to be incorrect. Next, the board claimed that schools would be integrated whenever and wherever possible, contingent on some rezoning considerations. One prominent board member commented to the press that integration cannot be achieved by "artificially forcing youngsters to be racially united for a limited time each day." A study (1970) of the Eastville school system, in referring to this report, stated: "The reply from the board of education did not inspire confidence in the black community members of the city, and added that "the results of this lack of confidence are still visible today."

During 1964 there were charges and counter-charges from each faction. The response of the white community to the NAACP report was almost uniformly negative, as exemplified by the following statement from a predominant civic leader: "the NAACP effort seems to be headed by a militant group following orders from national headquarters, more concerned with their national policies than in the best interests of the city" (Eastville Post, 1964). A parent organization from a predominantly white school backed the board's anti-busing position. In one school these protests were led by well-known and reputedly racist lawyers from a nearby community. The sole voice of support came from the Catholic Inter-Racial Council, which commended NAACP's report for recommending busing, although, the NAACP replied that busing would not necessarily be a part of the desegregation plan they would endorse. In addition, the NAACP asserted that the busing issue brought up by the white community really meant "save our white schools." By that time this had become a worn ploy to maintain racial

distance in community schools. The board of education then rejoined that the crucial issue was segregated residential areas; they maintained that until that situation was changed, segregation in schools would inevitably result.

During the 1964-1965 school year, the school board made an attempt to remedy the problems set forth in the NAACP report. The budget was to be increased to hire 54 additional teachers, a number of whom were to be trained in dealing with minority educational problems. However, the mayor and the city council decided to cut back the school budget for the coming year. This action by the city council resulted in open warfare between the NAACP and the board of education culminating in a large demonstration by NAACP sympathizers at the steps of city hall. Finally, the city council and the mayor allowed the hiring of a few special teachers for minority schools. A pattern was set which was to continue in the coming years: the school board would steadfastly refuse to seek State or Federal funds to help non-white school children.

Black and white parents protested a redistricting plan which would have integrated neighborhood schools (Eastville Post, 1965). While the newspaper accounts are cloudy as to the cause of these protests, several informants claimed that blacks were quite content with the quality of education received by their children in neighborhood schools. It was noted that black parents with children attending poor quality inner city schools would take advantage of such a plan. The black community, on the whole, was reported to be satisfied with the educational system.

In 1965, the board hired an educational consulting firm to study the

school district and make recommendations for ending de facto segregation. The study results and recommendations, published in early 1966, suggested a number of methods by which to integrate the district's schools. However, the board decided to accept only a portion of the plan (later known as the Middle School Plan). This segment recommended establishing several large middle schools (seventh and eighth grades) with 2,000 pupils per school in specifically chosen sections of the city. Integration would be expected to take place at that level in the district.

An immediate objection was voiced by the NAACP on the grounds that demographic trends would rapidly lead to segregation of the proposed schools. The NAACP found this plan to be an empty solution to a destructive problem. Soon the Ku Klux Klan picketed the NAACP, and the board of education commenced with the plan.

In addition to the protest over the Middle School Plan, there were incidents of conflict. An elementary school which had suffered from many health and safety problems, was burned to the ground. This school had been a symbol of the literally crumbling condition of inner city schools. Repeated requests to the board to rectify these conditions were ignored, and it was strongly suspected that the burning of Lincoln was arson and the community's angry solution to the problem of an unfit school. Minority parents were relieved that their children would now be able to attend a safer school.

Unfortunately, the board's response was to send children from this school to nearby minority schools through double sessions. Parents of these school children, led by the NAACP, packed a board meeting and vehemently

demanded that the children be bused to predominantly white schools. The school board acquiesced to their demands.

Another major concern for minority parents was the need for a free school lunch and breakfast program. In 1967, a free breakfast program was established with Federal funds under the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. In 1969, the program expanded to include lunch in all priority schools. This action, as previously stated, occurred only after a threatened lawsuit. Characteristically, the white community vigorously protested the program.

The Desegregation Plan

In late 1977 and early 1978, the state department of education conducted a series of investigations into alleged segregation in the Eastville school system. As a result of the investigations, the city was warned that all State funds would be stopped because of violations of the State's anti-desegregation laws. Since the school district could not challenge the State on consitutional issues, an all-white city taxpayers organization attempted to enjoin the State from cutting off funds. The case was entered in the Court of Common Pleas, the lowest court in the State. In mid-1978 the State and the city agreed to engage in binding arbitration, and a desegregation plan was adopted.

Articles III through VII contain the most important elements of the plan entitled: "A Comprehensive Plan to Provide Educational Equity and Quality in the Eastville Public Schools." These articles called for the creation of two magnet schools designed to attract an integrated student body. One school, located in a predominantly white area, would emphasize

the creative arts. It would draw 30 percent of its enrollment from white students in the neighborhood, with the remainder coming from city-wide areas, including 40 percent minority students. The second magnet school, located in a predominantly minority area, would stress fundamental education. The second school would draw 20 to 30 percent non-minority students from the whole city, 40 percent minority students from the neighborhood, and 30 percent minority students city-wide.

Article V of this plan called for a controlled transfer program. Students would be allowed to transfer to any school if the transfer enhances the racial balance of the receiving school, while not disturbing the balance of the sending school. The controlled transfer plan was developed in response to charges made by a coalition of blacks and Hispanos, that the board of education was willfully granting permission to non-minority students to move out of their neighborhood schools having high enrollment of minority students and because of the need to provide a voluntary alternative to mandated massive busing programs.

Article VI mandated closing the predominantly minority East Side Middle School and instructed its students to be transferred to predominantly white, North End schools.

Article VII called for the reduction of racial isolation in predominantly white schools, mandating that all schools in the district must have a minimum of 33 percent minority students. Thus, by not setting an upper limit for minority schools, Article VII allowed schools with enrollments of up to 100 percent minority to exist. This Article placed the burden of busing on minority students.

The first Article called for the creation of "exemplary schools" to begin in the fall of 1979: one to be all black, one entirely Hispano, and one fully desegregated. Article I implies that the district must organize desegregated schools in a special way. The plaintiffs, a coalition of blacks and Hispanos, objected that the plan had only paid lip service to the urgent need for desegregation and that certain components actually violated the constitutional rights of the minority citizens of the community. The coalition felt that these "exemplary schools" constituted a tripartite school system by establishing three distinct, racially identifiable schools.

White Exodus

In urban centers across the United States, upper and middle income whites have fled from the inner cities to the suburbs. In fact, the term "inner city" has become synonymous with "ghetto" for many people. In Eastville, from 1964 to 1977, while enrollment ranged from less than 1 to 11 percent. The loss in white enrollment from 1977 to 1978, which coincided with the full implementation of the state-ordered desegregation plan, was 1,581 students or 21 percent.

The sharp drop in white enrollment during the 1977-1978 period was widely heralded in the press as being the result of the desegregation plan. This notion was reinforced by the board of education and the superintendents, as they appealed to the whites to remain and fight for quality education.

The explanation for the loss of white students may not be quite so simple. As an example, one would expect "white flight" to be greatest from the seven predominantly white North End schools, the only schools to receive

significant numbers of Hispanos and blacks. However, only one of these seven schools lost as much as 20 percent of their white enrollment while the remaining six schools lost no more than 7 percent. Among reasons proffered for "white flight" could be continued white affluence and concern of white parents about the steady decline of national test scores over the last ten years.

Board of Education and School Administration

The board of education consists of nine members who receive no salary, are elected on a city-wide basis, and serve five-year terms. The board is comprised of seven whites, one Hispano (Puerto Rican), and one black. Prior to 1972 the board had no ethnic minorities. Indeed, minorities who campaigned on a platform of desegregation were soundly defeated. Theoretically, the board makes all important policy decisions, but have no power to approve the school budget or levy taxes. The school budgets are recommended by the board, and then submitted to the mayor and city council for approval. A number of informants asserted that the mayor was the power behind the board by virtue of the strong Democratic party machine. The mayor controls the city council and makes appointments to the board of education when a resignation occurs. Allegedly, several board members and their relatives have received patronage positions in the city bureaucracy and have actively supported the mayor in his election, as well as in matters of city and school policy. Although the board of education approves all appointments in the central school administration, as well as appointments for the entire district, it receives a strong interest from the mayor.

The office of the superintendent has five assistant superintendents and

a number of program directors who work directly under them. However, several program directors complain of minimal coordination and communication with the assistant superintendents, especially for programs primarily benefiting minority children. Further evidence of lack of coordination and apparent incompetence is the failure of some superintendents to respond to simple requests for information from Federal agencies (e.g., the DHEW Office for Civil rights, and from the State Department of Education). The repeated failure of the city to obtain and hold Federal educational grants (by failure to meet eligibility requirements, or managing funds properly), further highlights the lack of coordination and competence among the assistant superintendents. Although the superintendents report that the early childhood development and bilingual education programs will suffer if the current desegregation suit is lost, they have yet to establish any contingency plans to save such programs. This lack of planning deeply disturbs a number of middle-level administrators, who believe that top level administrators are not committed to Federally sponsored programs benefiting minority children. Indeed, there is a strong feeling that the central administration lacks strong leadership and clear cut goals, and works instead on a crisis mentality, coupled with racist overtones.

Implementation of the Desegregation Plan

The desegregation plan has not yet been fully implemented; exemplary and magnet schools are planned for the fall of 1979. Another magnet school under consideration would serve students who require English as a second language (ESL) or bilingual programs. Based on present objections by the

plaintiffs, it is probable that this school would be rejected as further isolating Hispanic students.

Because of the plan of the East Side Middle School, and the controlled voluntary transfer program, approximately 2,153 students (more than 95 percent minority) have been relocated in either predominantly white schools or other schools of their choice. The figures from the school district's quarterly reports and actual transfer records indicate that about 865 students (90 percent minority) have transferred from the phased-out East Side Middle School, while 1,288 have moved under the controlled voluntary transfer program.

Virtually no whites have chosen to transfer to schools with higher minority enrollments than the schools they currently attend. Existing records of voluntary transfers are difficulty to interpret. It is believed that in many instances the school district has not followed guidelines for voluntary transfers. Instead they have allowed white students to transfer from predominantly minority schools to those with lesser minority enrollment as long as more minority students transfer from such schools. For example, if the total school enrollment is 200, of which 80 percent are minority and 20 percent majority group students, seven majority students may transfer if 30 minority students also transfer because the transfers will then enhance the racial balance caused by students leaving the school. This process offers no data on how these transfers enhance the racial balance of receiving schools. The transfer plan is being used to allow minority students the opportunity to attend white schools, while white students increase their opportunity to leave predominantly minority schools.

Failure of Voluntary Desegregation

From its inception in 1969 the Middle School was beset with problems. The school was designed to reflect the ethnic composition of the total school district, but in its first year the school had approximately 9 percent fewer whites than expected and about the same percentage or more of blacks and Hispanos. In each succeeding year the school became more segregated. Initially envisioned as a magnet school with highly trained and motivated staff members working in well equipped surroundings, the school eventually proved a failure. By 1971, the board decided that other such schools would not be constructed and by 1974, the Middle School plan for achieving quality integrated education was abandoned.

Why did Eastville's first voluntary attempts at desegregated education (1965-1974) fail? Informants, several of whom taught at the predominantly minority East Side Middle School in its first years, offered several explanations. They claimed that teachers were poorly trained to teach in such a setting, amd that one quarter of these teachers had no teaching experience. It was also reported that curriculum planning was exceedingly poor. Children from majority feeder schools with lower standards were not well prepared for education in an integrated setting, and teachers were generally insensitive to the cultural backgrounds of minority students. Racial conflict surfaced in fights, extortion, verbal abuse, and over-reaction by frustrated teachers. Such episodes were highly publicized in the local media, increasing negative reaction from the entire community. Minority resentment peaked during this period, when the parents of a white school successfully petitioned the all-white school board to exempt their children from

attending the East Side Middle School.

In short, the East Side Middle School appears to have been designed for failure. Demographic trends dictated that the school would not remain integrated; the school board was not committed to integration inany form; and teachers were inexperienced and insenstitive to minority educational needs. The East Side Middle School debacle convinced the minority community of Eastville that the white dominated school board would only offer them token gestures toward desegregation.

Another plan to implement desegregation in the city emerged in 1971. The Quality Urban Education Plan (1971) urged immediate but carefully deliberated movement toward racial balance. The plan called for community involvement, an increase in bilingual and bicultural programs, and a timeline for creation of magnet schools, school pairings, training and orientation of community and teachers, and hiring of more minority staff members. Many of the same findings and recommendations from the NAACP report (1964) and later reports (1970, 1971) were incorporated in the Quality Education Plan.* However, the school board received the results of the plan without enthusiasm, and the recommendations had virtually no impact.

At this point in 1971 the ethnic conflict between the minority community, the white community, and the school board reached crisis proportions. The issues were urgent and inflammatory: violence, extortion and vandalism were compounded by the inept attempts of the school system to deal with these problems. The potentially explosive situation peaked when a

*A study of the Eastville School System.

white teacher allegedly slapped a black pupil and a black pupil allegedly struck a school principal. The State Education Association was called in to explore what was termed a "discipline problem." The investigation, revealing what the minority community long knew to be true, paralleled the findings of the 1970 Report. According to the investigation, the "discipline problem" in Eastville was an urban and racial problem--that schools had not adapted to the changing character of the student population. It was also noted that "racism is pervasive and substantial in the city at large . . . reflected in housing, employment, and images portrayed in the mass media." The report continued with a statement on racial cleavage in the schools: "The school system reflects this same kind of racism among staff and administration, although unintentional in most cases, by clearly revealing a predisposition to regard racial minorities and low class members of the majority as having low learning potential and expectations."

The investigation characterized confrontations between minorities and the school district as exhibiting suspicion and distrust on both sides. Attempts at negotiation between the two groups "had been traditionally artificial." Another finding was that parent-teacher groups did not want and, in fact, were hostile to the goals of minority groups. The investigators implied that officially recognized community-school groups and organizations were manipulated by school administrators and whites in a false show of community involvement and support of school policy.* The investigators concluded that bilingual education should be increased and integration should be implemented as quickly as possible.

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*Educational services were reported to be poorly distributed among schools of different racial composition. Little attempt was made to secure Federal funds for aid to minorities.

Failure of Negotiation and Court-Ordered Desegregation

As the culmination of years of racial conflict, the events of 1975 set the tone for future minority-school relations. At the end of the 1975 school year, the superintendent of schools resigned. The minority community expected the school administration to follow the percent of filling the position from within the superintendent's office. The current assistant superintendent, a black woman who had worked for the district for thirty years, was the favored candidate of the minority community, but a white male, with less experience, from a neighboring school district was hired for the position. The minority community was outraged and the black assistant superintendent filed a lawsuit alleging discrimination. Organized protest arose: PACE, NAACP, and SAC blocked school buses on the first days of school, and classes were boycotted. The protestors were arrested and as the conflict intensified, the white male chosen for the superintendent's position resigned without serving.

The board then announced that the position would be offered to the assistant of the developmental programs, another white male. The minority community considered this action a further insult, and the conflict continued at a high pitch. The school board appointed a black woman as superintendent of schools. However, the appointment had an unprecedented clause—it was contingent on a series of one year contracts subject to review and approval by the board of education.

In 1975 a suit filed by a coalition of the NAACP, SAC, PACE, several church groups, neighborhood councils affiliated with Action for Eastville Community Development (AECD), and independent citizens, charged that the Eastville School District operated a segregated school system. After a delay in filing due to lack of funds, a prominent Eastville law firm offered

to take the case at no cost. The board reacted with shock and dismay, maintaining that it had worked diligently to establish quality desegregated education. A last minute attempt to control desegregation took place immediately before the suit was filed. The Eastville Education Association called for reconciliation meetings to develop a desegregation plan acceptable to all interested parties. However, administrators for the superintendent quickly commandeered the meetings.

There was to be a series of meetings in every school during the year. Each school elected and administrator, a teacher, and a parent to serve as school representatives in meetings with a steering committee. The steering committee consisted of 17 individuals, chosen from the school representatives with equal racial representation. The steering committee's function was to consider the recommendations made by each set of school representatives for developing a desegregation plan. However, the white-dominated board of education had final veto power of any adopted plan.

In December 1975, by mailing out 14,000 letters to parents and mounting a publicity campaign, the school board informed the English speaking community of the function of the school representatives. They euphemistically termed the school representatives "the parent task force" and their efforts were hailed by some prominent state education officials.

Although the participation was greater in minority schools than in white schools, the plaintiffs in the desegregation case responded negatively to the "task force" concept. After eleven weary years of unsuccessful negotiation with the white-dominated board of education, the schools were still racially segregated, and minority schools were in an alarming condition. In addition, the plaintiffs were not extended an invitation to participate in the school meetings. They charged that each school's task force and steering committee were packed with minority group members who supported the board's actions.

The candidates running for public office in 1975-1976 based their campaign rhetoric on anti-busing and slow integration platforms. All board of education candidates took an antibusing or voluntary busing stand with the exception of a black minister who had the backing of SAC and the NAACP.

Shortly before the city elections in the summer of 1976, an initial desegregation plan formulated by the desegregation task force was promulgated. The main elements of the plan included: (1) denial of special intra-district transfer (the board had previously allowed whites to transfer from their neighborhood schools as the concentration of minority students increased); (2) of controlled voluntary transfer permitting minority students to enroll in any school if their enrollment enhanced the racial balance of both the receiving and sending schools; (3) busing, if necessary, to those students wishing to transfer; (4) expansion and improvement of bilingual education programs; (5) phasing out the East Side Middle School and transfering its minority students to white schools; and (6) development of further desegregation efforts with full participation of the community and the plaintiffs.

This plan was favorably received by the press and by the white community. The NAACP, SAC, AECD and several church organizations condemned the plan and demanded the recall of the entire school board, including the two Hispanic members who had voted for the plan. In addition, the State Education Department registered its opposition to the plan by threatening to sever all state educational aid to Eastville if the school district did not modify the plan to integrate the troubled school system.

On behalf of the NAACP and SAC, a citizen filed a complaint with the regional DHEW Office for Civil Rights (OCR). This was forwarded to Washing-

ton. The memorandum documented the position of Eastville's desegregation plan by reviewing their interaction with Eastville's school board. It was noted that in 1973 the district submitted a grant proposal for funding under the ESAA based on a past (1971) nonworkable voluntary 1971 plan (Plan for Quality Desegregated Education). OCR noted that the plan did not fulfill the requirements of ESAA because "it neither completely eliminated minority group isolation or reduced minority group isolation in one or more schools." The regional OCR's decision of district ineligibility was, at the instigation of the school district, overturned by the Washington office.

The regional OCR also noted that in the 1974-75 school year the district applied for and was granted renewal of ESAA funds despite documented ineligibility. The regional OCR then conducted an on-site post-grant review and found that the board had subverted the limited desegregation plan as submitted in 1971. One school was expanded from K-5 to K-8, making it possible for students to continue in the school and avoid attendance in the integrated magnet East Side Middle School. A number of other irregularities included: (1) a disproportionate number of minority students in program for emotionally disturbed children; (2) lack of necessary testing for children placed in special education courses; and (3) use of special education programs as a means of segregating minority group members from whites. The school board immediately requested a waiver of ineligibility from the OCR in Washington, also threatening to terminate parts of the bilingual program if ESAA monies were witheld. Eventually, the waiver of ineligibility was denied and the district did not receive ESAA funds. The regional OCR assured the Hispanic community that ESAA monies would not terminate bilingual programs.

In October 1977 the commissioner of the State Department of Education threatened to sever state funds to city schools. The threat was levied because the district's desegregation plan was determined to be ineffective in alleviating racial imbalance in the schools. The board was unable to comply with the State's demands for an improved plan on short notice, and the State subsequently began an investigation of the racially imbalanced system. The State also alleged that educational interests were not being upheld, since minority students were performing poorly on standardized

tests. Negotiations between the board and the State were not fruitful and the State took steps to sever funding to the district. The conditions were set for another battle round.

A democratic machine-backed, anti-integration force, the Eastville Taxpayers Association, filed suit to the Court of Common Pleas to enjoin the State from severing funds. They argued that the State's racial imbalance law was vague, and that the State had no legal authority to deny Eastville educational funds. The court agreed to hear the case and decided to arbitrate the differences betweeen the board and the State by devising a desegregation plan acceptable to both parties. The plaintiffs (NAACP and SAC) in the pending Federal desegregation case parried by attempting to obtain a restraining order so that they could be included in the arbitration, but the motion was denied.

After six weeks of arbitration, a desegregation plan was devised for Eastville. The State and the school board were inordinately pleased with the latest plan. A leading State education official remarked that the plan was one of the finest in the nation and could serve as a model for the rest of the State. The NAACP and SAC considered the plan to be the result of a deal between the city and the State political machine, complaining that it: "showed the board's arrogance and contempt for the minority community." A further indignity occurred when the board of education asked the Federal district judge to drop the NAACP/SAC case on the basis of the arbitrated desegregation plan. Their motion, however, was denied in the Federal court.

CHART III

Desegregation Chronology in Eastville: A Summary of Significant Events

Year	Event
1963	NAACP meets with the school board to discuss de facto segregation in Eastville schools. Talks are unproductive.
1964	NAACP issues a report to the Eastville Board of Education on de facto segregated elementary schools. This report was a public statement of minority dissatisfaction over the board's reluctance to deal with segregation or accept minority input on educational issues. The white community angrily reacts to report.
1964-1965	Board of education attempts to respond to some minority demands by budgeting to hire more minority teachers. This attempt is thwarted by the city council. After a NAACP-led demonstration in front of city hall, the city council relents slightly and hires some minorities.
1965	Under NAACP pressure, the board of education hires a New York-based consulting firm to make a study and recommend a desegregation plan for Eastville.
1966	Only part of the educational consulting firm's recommendation on desegregation is accepted, resulting in "the Middle School Plan for Quality Desegregated Education." The NAACP reacts negatively because plan only desegregates at the 6th through 8th grade level. Ku Klux Klan pickets the board of education after they promulgate Middle School Plan.
1967	Lincoln School, a predominantly black segregated school, is burned, and arson by disgruntled black parents is the suspected cause. NAACP and Lincoln School parents fight to have former Lincoln School students bused to white school. They win and white community is upset over victory. Blacks fight for school breakfast program, and succeed despite board's opposition.
1969	The East Side Middle School, an integrated magnet school included in the desegregation plan, opens. White enrollment in school is less than planned, out of proportion to total white school enrollment. The Spanish-American Coalition (SAC) is founded through the Spanish American Development Agency (SADA), a federally funded urban development agency. Action for Eastville Community Development (AECD), the umbrella organization for SAC and SADA, provides minorities with an independent power base. SAC becomes involved in promoting Hispanic civil rights.
1970	A major report is commissioned and disseminated by the board of education. The report claims that the school system is racist and the middle school plan for desegregation was a deliberate failure.
1971	The Eastville teachers' union requests the State parent organization to make an investigation of school violence and discipline after some serious and inflammatory incidents. Their report suggests a revamping of the disciplinary system and an end to discrimination against minorities. Minorities agree with the findings of the report, but say it is not enough. The board of education refuses to comment on the findings. The board of education, after termination of the Middle School Desegregation Plan, asks a prominent educator to formulate another desegregation plan. This report plan suggested a variety of methods to integrate the schools, but all are rejected by the board. Parents Actively Concerned about Education (PACE) is founded. This is a coalition of blacks and Hispanos concerned with establishing a hot lunch program in priority schools, as well as promoting bilingual education, and school desegregation. The board of education declares the Middle School Plan a failure, deciding to abandon it. East Side Middle School is beset by ethnic conflict and violence and becomes more segregated. The white parents of adjacent school persuade the board of education not to transfer their children to East Side Middle School.
1972	PACE threatens the board of education with a lawsuit if a hot lunch program in priority schools is not instituted with Federal funds. The board, realizing that it would lose in court, accedes to PACE. Whites greatly resent the program, which largely benefits minorities. Through PACE pressure, bilingual education programs are expanded.
1973	The board of education, in the face of increasing minority activism, institutes a new desegregation plan calling for the creation of a series of K-8 "core schools" (i.e., magnet schools) to integrate the school district. The NAACP, SAC, and PACE say plan is inadequate.
1975	The superintendent of schools resigns, and the black female assistant superintendent of schools does not get the job. Minorities protest hiring of white male replacement and threats of violence are made. The board is forced to hire the black woman because of minority protest, after the second white appointee refuses to take the position.

CHART III (cont.)

1975 PACE, NAACP, and SAC blockade school buses to protest lack of adequate bilingual education, the hiring of the white superintendent, and segregated education. All are arrested after the school board fails to negotiate with them. Ethnic relations become tense.

NAACP, SAC, and PACE file a Federal lawsuit against the Eastville board of education alleging a segregated school system.

Just before the Federal lawsuit is filed, the Eastville teachers' union organizes community-school meetings to devise a desegregation plan acceptable to the entire community. The board controls meetings.

1976 As a result of the community meetings, a desegregation plan is formulated which is largely voluntary and protects white interests. The NAACP, SAC, and PACE protest the plan as inadequate.

The State Department of Education investigates Eastville on issues of segregation and failure to maintain the State's educational interests. The State finds that Eastville is out of compliance with the State anti-desegregation law and threatens to terminate State funding for education.

The regional DHEW/OCR issues a memorandum documenting abuses of Federal grants by Eastville schools and discriminatory practices against minorities.

1977 The Eastville Taxpayer's Association (an all-white group with close ties to anti-integration forces) enjoins the State from cutting off funds. Ultimately, the State's complaint against the Eastville schools is arbitrated in court and a desegregation plan is formulated.

1978 The desegregation plan arbitrated in court is promulgated and implemented at the beginning of the school year. The Federal court refuses to accept the plan as a remedy in the NAACP, SAC, and PACE suit against the Eastville board of education.

1979 Board of education pleads no la contendre in Federal court.

ETHNIC PERSPECTIVES ON DESEGREGATION

Hispanic response to desegregation issues is strongly determined by the effect of a plan on the individual family and the schools their children attend. A large part of community-school interaction was undertaken by a number of prominent Hispanos who continue to be actively involved in educational issues. Interviewees who could reflect on the range and variation of the plan's impact on the Hispanic community were selected. These interviews took place at three different schools which differed markedly in ethnic balance, presence of bilingual education or English as a second language (ESL) programs, quality of physical plant, and the degree to which they were affected by the plan.

Attitudes toward desegregation in the Hispanic community are mixed. Prominent Puerto Ricans holding high positions within the educational bureaucracy feel that there is no need for a desegregation plan to move students and to promote educational mixing. They contend that the Puerto Rican community is integrated within itself, since a significant number of Puerto Ricans are black and are fully integrated into the fabric of Puerto Rican society and culture. They recognize integration as a positive good, but imply that the Puerto Rican community has achieved social integration because it encompasses people of all races.

Another view is presented by the NAACP and SAC, which maintain that despite internal integration, the Puerto Rican community remains separated from the mainstream of black and white culture. These organizations assert that those Puerto Ricans desiring to avoid integration attempt to isolate

themselves in a cultural sense by maintaining a separate community.

The Puerto Rican community, the majority of which is not activist in nature, espouses two different viewpoints. Some, while embracing the ideology of integration, oppose it in practice, complaining that its burden falls disproportionately on their shoulders and maintain that voluntary controlled busing is strictly for those few whites who desire a desegregated setting for their children--the remaining whites can easily circumvent the desegregation process. A second group of Puerto Ricans have only a slight awareness of the intent of the desegregation plan. They are usually recent arrivals from Puerto Rico, and lack English skills and the necessary information to take part in discussions about desegregation. Consequently, they are unaware of the possibility of controlled transfers, and do not fully realize, for instance, that their children would have been directly affected by the phase-out of the East Side Middle School.

Puerto Rican ignorance of the desegregation plan highlights just how powerful racial boundaries isolate Puerto Ricans in Eastville. Some of the Puerto Ricans oppose desegregation because of ethnic pride, realizing that whites do not want them in their schools. Busing adds to the feeling that whites consider the Puerto Rican community and culture to be inferior. The interest of most Puerto Ricans centers on upgrading the physical facilities of their schools and expanding bilingual education programs, rather than on desegregation concerns. They feel that little has been done to improve the quality of their schools and that much more needs to be done.

At the same time, the board of education and the superintendent have used fear tactics to persuade Hispanos to side with the board. They have

heightened the fear of mass busing by implying that increased busing will be synonymous with victory in the plaintiffs' case. Most Hispanos are not convinced of the beneficial trade-offs in school desegregation. Most Hispanic parents insisted that they do not want their children bused, for any reason, until at least the fifth grade. Believing that the hazards of busing far outweigh any educational advantage, the expressed fears and concerns of Hispanic parents are not unlike those for other groups: (1) fear for the safety of their children; (2) inability to attend school if transportation fails; (3) lack of discipline aboard the buses; (4) likelihood of children attending different schools; (5) difficulty with changing time schedules; (6) caretaking responsibilities and logistics augmented; (7) difficulty in participating in school functions; and (8) too much time spent in travel. Hispanic mothers, protective of their children, often do not permit their children to go on bused field trips--one can imagine their consternation at the possibility of student bus travel each day. The fear that busing will increase and ultimately affect every child has continued as an obsessive theme in the community since desegregation talks began in 1963. The fears have not been allayed by SAC and NAACP assurance that the plan will probably not substantially change the number of children currently bused.*

*Out of 21,000 students enrolled in Eastville public schools approximately 6,000 are currently bused.

Some Hispanic leaders reason that dispersement of the Puerto Rican school population would dilute Puerto Rican influence in local Parent Advisory Councils (PACs) and PTAs, leading to a decline in school participation. Without this high level of neighborhood involvement, a political power base could not be forged. Therefore, to enhance political aims, some Puerto Rican leaders have adopted the busing scare tactics of white officials, reporting that the desegregation plan would lead to massive busing, loss of bilingual education, and loss of Federal programs for priority schools.

Other community leaders favoring desegregation have made little attempt to persuade the community of the benefits of desegregation. SAC and other Puerto Rican organizations, believing that most Hispanic parents are not knowledgeable enough to comprehend the issues, have not attempted to keep the community informed. At times, SAC seems to be arrogant in its lack of concern for widespread community support. It is confident of the merits of its cause and does not depend on community involvement to achieve a victory in the courts.

The dominant white community is extremely vocal in its opposition to desegregation. While many Anglos are simply racist, others are well aware that minority schools are inferior in terms of program offerings, staff resources, physical plants, and that school violence is more prevalent. Many will send their children to private or parochial schools, although these students must also be bused. Whatever the outcome, the issue for white parents is seldom busing, per se. Furthermore, very fewe white students are ever bused for desegregation purposes in Eastville.

Generally, white teachers and administrators favor desegregation, but oppose busing to achieve this end--a clever subterfuge? Teachers tend to make liberal statements on the morality of integration, but lack the commitment to put these sentiments into action. Both teachers and administrators are appallingly ignorant about the details of the current state-ordered desegregation plan and are totally unconcerned unless directly affected. They seem comfortable that planning for desegregation is in the capable hands of the school board and superintendent.

Hispanic teachers tell a different story. They are much more aware of the status of the desegregation plan; they complain that the board of education has moved at a snail's pace to resolve physical plant and staffing problems in barrio schools; and they maintain that the board has no desire to consult with Hispanic teachers about these problems.

Hispanic Community/School Relations

With the exception of the Cubans, Hispanos minimally participate in school organizations such as PTA. Hispanic parents generally do not attend open houses and report card days, and show reluctance to deal with school authorities. Since most school authorities do not make a special effort to be sensitive to the problems of Hispanic parents, a pattern of avoidance between ethnic groups has developed. This behavior must be seen in light of racial conflict and cleavage in Eastville.

The reluctance of Hispanos to interact with white teachers stems from the history of mistreatment and discrimination by whites. In housing and employment, Hispanos have felt the full force of white supremacy, with

psychologically debilitating results. Most Hispanos do not acknowledge the possibility of dealing with white authority figures in a productive way.

School participation by Hispanic parents is lowest at previously all-white or predominantly segregated schools. The North End schools which have had the greatest increase in minority enrollment are far from the East Side Hispanic neighborhoods. Many parents, lacking knowledge of the city outside of the barrio, do not know where their child's school is located. To overcome these problems, some North End schools have provided notices of meetings in Spanish and offered transportation to the meetings. Yet even when these efforts meet with success, dominant language use presents another barrier. Translators are not usually provided to aid in Hispanic participation. In addition, many Hispanic parents regard educators, especially if they are white, powerful authorities with whom they cannot interact on an equal basis. Some white teachers seem genuinely frustrated by their lack of communication with Hispanic parents. Yet the superintendents do not appear to be concerned about these problems.

In predominantly Hispanic schools with a larger percentage of Hispanic staffing, parental participation, although somewhat better, can still be considerably improved. Other factors contributing to low school participation are recency of arrival, and high mobility and dispersal of Hispanos among several schools; because of the organization of Eastville schools, many children from the same families attend different schools.

When charismatic Puerto Rican citizens, with the assistance of interested teachers, have worked hard to stimulate interest in schools, participation has improved. Unfortunately, such efforts are rare and the

school board and superintendents have done little to support or encourage such activities.

Bilingual Education in Eastville

Bilingual education in Eastville has evolved slowly but steadily with the growth of Hispanic political power and white awareness of the need for such a program. White and Hispanic goals in bilingual education are divergent: whites want Puerto Rican children to become proficient in English as quickly as possible, while Hispanics prefer that their children achieve competence in both languages.

In the early and middle fifties, bilingual programs were poorly organized, underfunded by the school board and had originated without Federal assistance or negotiation. In the mid to late sixties, Federal funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), including Title VII grants, became available and the bilingual program grew rapidly. In the middle seventies, the program blossomed because of a number of factors: (1) increased levels of Federal and local funding; (2) enforcement measures by the DHEW Office for Civil Rights; and (3) increased level of Hispanic political involvement in the board of education's decision-making apparatus. This resulted in increased funding from the regular school budget.

However, the first cycle of the development of bilingual education in Eastville began in the early fifties. A group of prominent Puerto Rican citizens became concerned about the need for bilingual programs to serve a rapidly increasing Puerto Rican population. Two requests went forth to the board of education: (1) a request for English instruction for Puerto Rican adults to enhance employment and career opportunities; and (2) a request

that the board study the educational needs of Puerto Rican school children. A resulting study, at that time, revealed that of approximately 500 Puerto Rican students in Eastville schools, 143 spoke little or no English and over half lacked the necessary skills to understand instructions in English. During this period several active educators became sympathetic to the plight of Puerto Rican children. One white elementary school principal, a fluent Spanish speaker, began a program to assist NES/LESA children in her school. In another instance, forty white elementary teachers enrolled in Spanish classes to communicate with Hispanic children in their classrooms. From this period until about 1963, there was little organized effort to improve educational conditions for Puerto Rican children.

As enrollment of Puerto Rican children increased, the community began to more actively request bilingual programs from the board of education. In 1963, the board showed the extent of its concern by instituting an English as a second language (ESL) program consisting of only one itinerant white teacher who barely spoke Spanish. This teacher worked in five different schools with a teaching load of approximately 350 students from kindergarten through the eighth grade. The Hispanic community was rightfully enraged and appalled. The staff was increased by six more teachers the following year; but since these teachers also lacked basic skills in Spanish, they took ESL training through a Federal National Defense Education Act (NDEA) Program. At the end of this year an attempt was made to obtain ESEA Title VII funds to hire and train staff. The grant was denied because of a rather glaring omission--it lacked the required provisions for parental involvement. After grant

denial, growing involvement and pressure from the Hispanic community forced the board to expand the existing program. Title VII funding was secured only after grant seekers provided the necessary training for their staffs. ESL services were then instituted in all priority schools. Eastville's response to Hispanic children took ten years of negotiations and community intervention.

The Puerto Rican community gradually learned the power of political mobilization in the land of equal opportunity. It had become increasingly clear that expansion of bilingual and bicultural programs required constant pressure on the board of education. The board proved to be relatively amenable since the bilingual and bicultural tab was paid by the Federal Government, and the programs did not involve mixing white and minority children. During the years 1970-1973, the program expanded tremendously; a staff of fifty teachers and aides served 1,800 students. With a grant from the state department of education, a recruiting committee was able to go to Puerto Rico and hire bilingual teachers to teach in Eastville.

Eastville's bilingual education program has expanded rapidly in the last few years and now serves a variety of NES students. Starting as a marginal entity in 1973, enjoying little city support and plagued by complaints and investigations from OCR, the Bilingual Services Department has become a model for other districts attempting such programs. Presently, bilingual and ESL services are provided for approximately 1,700 students in 21 schools; in six of these schools, services are provided for each grade level. A student's need for bilingual education or ESL is determined by language dominance and proficiency assessment procedures conducted in both

the home and the classroom. Student proficiency is classsified as follows: monolingual native language; bilingual, speaking the native language and English equally well; dominant English speaking; or monolingual English speaking. Students receive instruction appropriate to their respective classifications.

Parents must give their consent before bilingual or other special language instruction begins. Official data suggest that of the 1,700 students in the program, 250 students assessed as needing bilingual or ESL services have not been granted parental permission to attend bilingual or ESL classes. Most of these refusals are from Cuban and Portuguese families of middle-class backgrounds. The refusals stem from an ignorance about the goals of bilingual and ESL education and fears that the programs will inhibit the rapid learning of English.

Each bilingual or ESL school program involves the principal, a bilingual or ESL teacher, a regular classroom teacher, and representatives from a LAU Desegregation Assistance Center. The function of these representatives is to test, assess, and place students in bilingual or ESL classes as necessary, and to provide current data on all students for the regional LAU Center. Many of the schools providing bilingual and/or ESL services are assisted by staff from the LAU Center which provides technical assistance to help administer these programs, maintaining records on all students tested or enrolled in bilingual and ESL classes, and assist in curriculum development.

Presently, the Bilingual Services Department is comprised of 97 regular staff members and 66 classroom aides. Regular staff includes bilingual and

ESL instructors, home-school coordinators, a psychologist and a social worker. Two-thirds of the funding for these positions comes from city funds. Aides who are not formally accredited teachers, are primarily funded from Federal and State sources. The staff consists of an almost equal mixture of whites, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanos. Of the 66 aides, 52 are Puerto Rican.

Hispanic teachers feel that bilingual and ESL programs should have stronger Spanish language maintenance components. Anglo teachers, on the other hand, believe the Puerto Rican student should be taught English rapidly and "mainstreamed" into regular classes. This split is consistent with ethnic self-interest, since expansion of the bilingual program toward maintenance would enhance the importance of Hispanic teachers, while the alternative would protect the status of Anglo teachers.

There are problems associated with "mainstreaming," or returning a child to the regular classroom. As soon as a child demonstrates proficiency he or she is mainstreamed and encounters rapid and grammatically complex English. In addition, the mainstreamed child loses the warmth and congeniality of the ESL or bilingual class. The abrupt transition is not demonstrating good results.

Bilingual and ESL programs came under increasing attack from the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) because of glaring irregularities in student testing and placement. In 1975 the superintendent failed to correctly complete the DHEW/LAU Compliance forms seven times. Following several meetings with the superintendent, the OCR found that Eastville was in violation of Title VI, out of compliance with the LAU decision, and provided inadequate testing and placement services. More recently, in collaboration with a prominent

university, a competent administrative staff was hired and Eastville developed a LAU plan which is now considered exemplary in scope and depth.

From its inception in 1963, the bilingual education program has occasioned sharp divisions of opinion within the Hispanic community. These divisions, largely based on ethnic and socioeconomic categories concern the utility, desirability, and efficacy of these programs as they currently function. Some feel that continued growth of the program will ultimately create another dual school system--a system in which Hispanos will be segregated from blacks and whites. Others see no viable alternative to bilingual education and do not perceive incompatibility with desegregation.

Most parents interviewed are in favor of bilingual education. It seems to them the only method to achieve an equitable education. They report that prior to any bilingual programs their children sat silently in classrooms--unable to comprehend instructions, unable to participate in class discussion and work, and fearful of humiliation or ridicule if they spoke non-standard English. Although the Puerto Rican community supports Bilingual and ESL programs, its members are aware of its shortcomings. They complain that testing and placement of children proceeds laboriously and that there are too many errors in placement. School officials have not adequately informed parents about the philosophy behind bilingual and ESL programs.

Cubans in Eastville have not been as actively involved as Puerto Ricans in pushing for educational change. They believe that bilingual and ESL programs interfere with rapid mastery of English and consequently hinder assimilation into the American mainstream.

CONCLUSIONS

A brief Review

Although the struggle for equitable educational opportunity in Eastville began officially in 1964, it had been going on unofficially for a long time. The NAACP officially complained to the board of education in 1964 that de facto segregation existed in the schools. Prior to this time NAACP representatives had met quietly with the board to discuss the deleterious effects of this situation on all children. The white school board was able to defer and reject the minority demands with impunity --minorities could not unseat them at the polls and their white constituents did not favor changes in distribution of educational resources or students. The board attempted to counter criticism from blacks and Hispanos by doing studies on the feasibility of desegregation. These studies forstalled immediate action toward desegregation.

Much to the consternation of powerful whites, there was an increase in Eastville's black and Hispano populations in the years 1964-1969. With the growth of minority power and pressure, the board was compelled to provide limited integration by creating magnet middle schools. Minorities considered this action insufficient but it was seen as too liberal by the whites. In time, minorities came to realize that they would need to work more together to attain integration.

Early in the struggle, blacks and Hispanos lacked the organizational and the economic resources to fight effectively with the board of education. The founding of AECD, SADA, SAC, and funding from Federal minority development agencies increased the political effectiveness of minority groups.

These organizations provided minorities with independent community power bases which could not be easily subverted by local white interests. In addition, organizational expertise and knowledge of legal recourse were discovered as tools to reach political and educational goals. Increased organization and cohesiveness resulted in the election of three minority persons to the nine member board of education. The board was also pressured into increasing aid to minority students by investigations headed by the OCR and other Federal agencies. Despite this progress, it became increasingly apparent that legal redress would be the optimal process to curb segregation.

In 1975, a major confrontation between minorities and the system began. A local law firm, with a history of interest in civil rights, agreed to file suit in Federal court on behalf of the NAACP, SAC, and PACE. The charge was that the Eastville school district was operating a segregated school system. The suit was possible only because the law firm offered its services at no charge. This show of solidarity and force stimulated the school board into immediate action.

The board of education countered the plaintiff's action with a year-long series of meetings in each school in the district. The avowed purpose of the meetings was to devise a desegregation plan which had full community consensus. In order to gain support of whites and minorities a number of scare tactics were used by the board. Whites were warned that if the community did not devise a desegregation plan, the NAACP, SAC, and the Federal court would develop a minority plan contrary to the best interests of the white community. Whites and minorities were both warned that mas-

sive busing would inevitably result, and Hispanos were threatened with the loss of bilingual education and early childhood developmental programs.

This flurry of political activity by the board resulted in the formulation of a weak desegregation plan. After review by the State Department of Education, the plan was found inadequate and unacceptable. The State threatened to suspend funding if the plan was not improved. Brief negotiation between the State and the local school board resulted in an The State threatened to suspend funding if the plan was not improved. Brief negotiation between the State and the local school board resulted in an acceptable plan. However, the plaintiffs did not accept the plan and the case proceeded to Federal litigation. The decision was won in Federal court in July 1979.

General Observations

Variability in the intensity of racial conflict and cleavage has influenced the outcome of the desegregation process in Eastville. When the situation was relatively calm, negotiation between competing racial groups led to a voluntary desegregation plan. When conflict intensified, negotiation failed and the courts were involved in settling the dispute. Two clear indications of relatively intense racial conflict and cleavage existed in Eastville for some time: the city was operating under a court-ordered desegregation plan and a Federal suit was pending to remedy the problem of inequitable and segregated education.

Racial conflict and tension intensify with court-ordered desegregation plans, especially if prior and unsuccessful negotiation has been protracted.

In Eastville, conflict increased somewhat after the State plan was implemented. Despite the inequity of the plan, a large segment of the minority community was relatively content with it and was actively pressuring the board for increased educational resources for their schools. The minority community had all but succumbed to the threats of massive busing and loss of bilingual and early childhood development programs.

With the favorable outcome of a court decision for the plaintiffs, school desegregation plans could still have a negative affect on specially targeted minority programs such as bilingual education. These programs can be endangered since they depend on a critical mass of students in targeted schools to meet State and Federal guidelines for continued funding and effective implementation. If bilingual students are dispersed to schools not qualified for such programs, it can become difficult to deliver needed language services. Hispanic community input is critically needed, at this juncture, to design an adequate plan. The plan must preserve the integrity of special programs. Thus far, it has been advantageous for the board of education to support bilingual education as an effective way to keep Hispanos segregated in their own schools. However, this may no longer be an acceptable strategy for the board.

As this field work was being completed there was discussion about establishing a bilingual magnet school. The implications of such a plan are quite clear--Hispanic children would be further isolated from whites as well as blacks. Presently, bilingual and ESL programs exist at every grade level in predominantly Hispanic schools and in some predominantly white schools.

Eastville appears to be moving from a school system split between minority and majority groups to a multi-school system in which separate Hispanic, black, and white schools vy for existing educational resources. The recent Federal decision should reverse that trend. The decision, however, is only as good as the desegregation remedy; and the remedy, in turn, is as effective as its implementation and delivery.